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**THE HISTORY ❧ ❧
OF THE LIFE OF ❧
THOMAS ELLWOOD**

THE FRIEND OF MILTON AND PENN

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THE HISTORY OF THE LIFE OF
THOMAS ELLWOOD



MILTON AND ELLWOOD.
From the Painting by John Horsley, R.A.

THE HISTORY OF THE
Life of
Thomas Ellwood

Written by his own hand

WITH

*Extracts from Joseph Wyeth's Supplement
Appendices and Biographical Notes*

Edited by

S. GRAVESON

HISTORICAL INTRODUCTION BY W. H. SUMMERS

ILLUSTRATED EDITION

London

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EDITOR'S NOTES.

"**T**HE History of the Life of Thomas Ellwood " was first published in 1714, and a second edition appeared in the same year. Since that time some ten or a dozen editions have been issued, including one forming volume 32 in the Universal Library, edited by the late Professor Henry Morley.

In many editions the text of the first issue is considerably abridged, and in some Joseph Wyeth's Supplement is entirely omitted. The motives that directed past Editors in this course were doubtless born of a desire to keep the story Ellwood had to tell as free as possible from the mesh of theological and religious controversy. Whilst such a motive is justifiable, it can hardly be said to give the most accurate picture of the man and his environment.

Thomas Ellwood joined the Quakers early in life, and became a loyal follower of George Fox in his "suffering for Truth's sake," yet he was naturally a child of the times and a born fighter. Although he forswore carnal weapons soon after the incident with the lusty highwaymen at Watlington, yet, like Penn, he was ever ready to maintain his rights and the rights of his people in public debate, and, when necessary,

in the courts of law. The part he took in the defence of Thomas Zachary from wrongful imprisonment, and in the after prosecution of the nefarious informers Aris and Lacy, is typical of his conduct under such circumstances.

In "*Speculum Seculi*: or, a Looking-glass for the Times," we have a sample of Ellwood's denunciatory muse. It is full of strong words of reproof, and in the light of to-day seems to lack the spirit of charity. The same may be said of religious controversy as a whole in the seventeenth century. The Puritans drank deeply of the Old Testament, and when they spoke of their adversaries, they poured forth the prophetic woes with all the force of their conviction. They chose words of emphatic meaning, and used them without stint.

The Quaker is sometimes pictured as a man who is willing to accept "peace at any price." The history of the seventeenth century is emphatically against such a description. On the contrary, it was the followers of Fox who, among all the Dissenters of the Restoration, were foremost in their demand for freedom of conscience and civic liberty. They never, however, stained their souls with plots or insurrections against the Government of the day, but relied always on the appeal of voice and pen for what they considered was a just cause.

Before the dragon of outward persecution was slain, the Quakers had found other foes to contend with, dissentients or separatists in their own assemblies. Thus it is that the latter part of the history of Thomas Ellwood's

life, with almost the whole of Joseph Wyeth's Supplement, is devoted to controversies with such men as John Raunce, Ellwood's one-time protector, John Wilkinson, John Story, William Rogers, George Keith, and others. Ellwood was himself, at first, carried off his feet by these spiritual anarchists. Fortunately, his common sense stood him in good stead, and he became one of the most powerful allies of George Fox in the establishment of the system of Church government, which still forms the basis of the discipline in the Society of Friends.

This is not the place to deal with the merits of the cause which Ellwood championed. It is a far too long and complicated history. Moreover, the points at issue are often lost to view under personal invective. A concise and illuminating picture of the times is given in a paper by John Stephenson Rowntree, published in pamphlet form under the title of *Micah's Mother: or a Neglected Chapter in Church History*. Here the two sides of the controversy are put before the reader in a clear and interesting manner. The majority of the separatists appear to have ultimately united once more in the Quaker fellowship.

In addition to the copious extracts from Joseph Wyeth's Supplement, the present edition differs from many of its predecessors in the fact that a return has been made to the original text, with its quaint and now obsolete words and typographical peculiarities of the early eighteenth century. This has been followed in the belief that any difficulties of style

vi. Editor's Notes.

will be found, in this particular case, to be amply compensated for by the full flavour which the narrative thereby receives of the times of which it is reminiscent.

In the Appendix will be found brief biographical notes of some of Ellwood's friends and a few of his persecutors ; some "Testimonies"; also a Chronological Table, Bibliography, etc.

The Editor's thanks are especially due to the Rev. W. H. Summers for his Historical Introduction, written at a time of great physical suffering, also for his invaluable assistance in reading the proof sheets and compilation of the footnotes. His well known work, *Memories of Jordans and the Chalfonts*, is a mine of wealth to the student of Ellwood's life and times. Thanks are also accorded Norman Penney, librarian of the Friends' Library at Devonshire House, London, for much help with the biographical notes and illustrations.

S.G.

Ashford,
April, 1906.

NOTE.—Since the foregoing notes were written, the Editor has learned with great regret of the death of Mr. Summers, at Hungerford, on April 30th. His sufferings were borne "with the splendid patience you would have expected," writes a correspondent. Mr. Summers' earnest ministry at Hungerford since 1901 was deservedly appreciated, and many friends mourn his loss. He left some important historical MSS. in an unfinished state, which it is hoped at some future date may be made available for students of Free Church history.

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS.

	PAGE
MILTON AND ELLWOOD - <i>Frontispiece</i>	
ELLWOOD'S BIRTHPLACE AT CROWELL -	1
OLD GRAMMAR SCHOOL, THAME - -	4
TOWN HALL AND HIGH STREET, WATLINGTON	8
JAMES NAYLER - - - - -	17
CHINNOR CHURCH - - - - -	20
CROWELL CHURCH - - - - -	28
TOWN HALL AND MARKET, HIGH WYCOMBE	47
CHALFONT GRANGE - - - - -	60
FACSIMILE OF ISAAC PENINGTON'S HAND- WRITING - - - - -	90
OLD HOUSES AND CHURCH, BEACONSFIELD -	114
AMERSHAM CHURCH - - - - -	118
"BULL AND MOUTH " MEETING - -	126
OLD BRIDEWELL - - - - -	136
ENTRANCE TO NEWGATE - - - - -	146
FACSIMILE OF VERSES IN ELLWOOD'S HAND- WRITING - - - - -	172

x. List of Illustrations.

	PAGE
GULIELMA PENN - - - - -	184
AMERSHAM - - - - -	192
WARRANT OF COMMITMENT TO AYLESBURY GAOL - - - - -	194
MILTON'S COTTAGE, CHALFONT ST. GILES -	198
JORDANS MEETING HOUSE - - -	202
ELLWOOD'S HOUSE AT HUNGER HILL -	221
WEST WYCOMBE - - - - -	232
GEORGE FOX - - - - -	268
WILLIAM PENN - - - - -	272
AYLESBURY, FROM AN OLD PRINT - -	284
INTERIOR OF JORDANS MEETING HOUSE -	308
BURIAL GROUND AT JORDANS - -	316
LITTLE COTTAGE, LARKING'S GREEN - -	335
"BULL AND MOUTH" INN, LONDON -	339
ELLWOOD'S RESIDENCE AT CHALFONT ST. GILES	348
KING'S FARM, CHORLEY WOOD - - -	356

HISTORICAL INTRODUCTION.

THE seventeenth century is noticeable for the number of vivid and illuminating works which give us, in biographical or autobiographical form, the view-points of representative men and women who watched or took part in the great movements of the time. In the exquisite work of Lucy Hutchinson, we see reflected the lofty aspirations of the educated Puritan, and in Evelyn's *Diary* the dignity and constancy to his ideals of the loyal Cavalier. Bunyan's "Grace Abounding" holds a unique place in our literature as the outpouring of a soul to which Eternity was all in all and the events and politics of the time were as nothing. At the antipodes of thought and feeling from this last, we have the work of Samuel Pepys, the man of the world, the embodiment of the animal and material spirit of the Restoration, yet holding, if loosely, to the decencies of a formal religion, and not without occasional glimpses of the beauty of higher things.

Thomas Ellwood's autobiography gives us the view of one who stood aloof from the two great parties of the day. If in the latter portion of the book he denounces the unbridled licen-

tiousness and unjust laws of the days of Charles II., it cannot be said that the earlier portion gives us the impression that he had any strong admiration for the Puritan *régime* which preceded it. In his picture of the formal and fitful religiousness of old Walter Ellwood, in his account of John Ovy, the fellmonger-magistrate, riding about the country on his pack of skins, with "little estate, as little knowledge of the law, and of but a mean presence and appearance to look on," and in his denunciation of "deceitful priests of divers sorts and denominations," we have evidence that he was not blind to the weaker side of Puritanism.

Born towards the close of 1639, just about a twelvemonth before the summoning of the Long Parliament, Ellwood was not quite five years of age when the Civil War began, and a little over ten when it ended with the execution of the king. He was taught at the same school where Hampden had been a scholar a generation before, and within bow-shot of the house to which the patriot was brought from Chalgrove Field to die; but he never mentions his name.

The story of the way in which the high-spirited but blameless youth was led to realise his true condition in the sight of God has the interest which pertains to that great change in every age, and under all varieties of religious profession. We are apt to feel, however, it may be, that he and other early Friends made too much of external details, especially of the question of "hat-honour." But it must be borne in mind how greatly customs

have changed. Men and boys of the present day spend their indoor life for the most part with heads uncovered. But in Ellwood's time, the master of the house constantly wore his hat indoors, especially when seated at the table, and sons and servants alike were expected to uncover in his presence. In Puritan England, as in Holland, it was a usual thing for men of rank to wear their hats even in church. We find complaints of this in the letters of Dr. John Andrewes, Rector of Beaconsfield, only a few miles from Ellwood's house at Crowell. The standing uncovered (not merely raising or touching the hat) in the presence of superiors had come to be a tyrannous and degrading social convention against which Friends protested with an anticipation of true democratic spirit. To them it was unseemly that a mark of homage should be paid to a fellow-man which that fellow-man did not always render to Almighty God. Their feeling in this respect was similar to that which they expressed as to the absurdity of looking upon "thou" as an insulting mode of address to an equal, and yet using it in prayer to the Almighty.

We have, in Ellwood's narrative, interesting glimpses of the varying forms and causes of the persecution of which the Quakers became the victims. First we have the Cromwellian period, when, though undisturbed by the central government, they got into trouble with the local authorities for speaking in churches, like the young man Ellwood heard at Chinnor, or infringing the rigid Puritan laws of the

xiv. Historical Introduction.

Sabbath, like Ellwood himself when riding through Maidenhead. The Restoration seemed at first to bring some slight relief, though Ellwood says, "It was then a very troublous time, not from the government, but from the rabble of boys and rude people, who . . . took liberty to be very abusive." But the enforcement of the Oath of Allegiance soon brought the Friends into trouble, for their refusal to swear at all was construed as a mark of disloyalty. Their wearing their hats in Court was treated as contempt, and, as one of them quaintly said, "They were sent to prison for not taking off their clothes." The beginning of 1661 saw an increase in the bitterness of the persecution. Ellwood, with more candour than some Puritan controversialists, ascribes the change to that "mad prank of those infuriated Fifth Monarchy men," who raised an insurrection in London under the fanatical Venner. He points out how the alarm was held by some to exonerate the King from the promise of toleration given in the Declaration of Breda. A severe act against the Quakers was passed by the Commons, but was thrown out by the Lords. Their meetings were subjected to restrictions by order in Council and afterwards forbidden by proclamation. Ellwood tells us how Oxford Castle and Aylesbury Gaol were crowded with those who had refused to take the oath, and he himself endured his first and lightest imprisonment in the custody of the Oxford city marshal. This, and his arrest a little later at Chalfont St. Peters,

71
were for taking part in meetings contrary to the proclamation after the Venner riot, while the suspicions of the time are illustrated by his detention for a night at Beaconsfield.

Meanwhile the Corporation Act of 1661 had disqualified the Friends from municipal offices, by making their holding conditional on taking the Oath of Supremacy and receiving the Sacrament at church. The Act of Uniformity in 1662, by which so many clergymen were ejected from their livings, did not directly affect the Quakers. In the week before it became law (August, 1662), Charles II. ordered the release of all Quakers imprisoned in London and Middlesex for attending unlawful meetings, not including those charged with being "ring-leaders," or refusing the Oath of Allegiance. Yet Ellwood records how within two months of "Black Bartholomew's Day," "a sudden storm arose" on some "surmise of a plot." On October 26th, 1662, Ellwood and others were arrested at a meeting in Aldersgate Street "at the Bull and Mouth," and committed to prison in Old Bridewell, in which prison they remained till the close of December, when they were transferred to Newgate. Early in 1663 they were again removed to Bridewell, and soon after were discharged, not long before the death (in Newgate), of Ellwood's beloved Friend, Edward Burrough (February 14th, 1663).

In May, 1664, the first Conventicle Act was passed. Ellwood calls this "a very severe law made against the Quakers by name, and

xvi. Historical Introduction.

more particularly prohibiting our meetings, under the sharpest penalties of five pounds for the first offence so-called, ten pounds for the second, and banishment for the third." Elsewhere he calls it "the Act for banishment." It must be understood that while the Friends were specially named, no Nonconformists were exempt, and that imprisonment might be substituted for fines. But there was a special clause banishing Quakers who refused the oath. It was under this Act that Ellwood, with Isaac Penington and others, was arrested at a funeral at Amersham during the great plague (July 1st, 1665), and committed to Aylesbury Gaol. In March, 1666, Ellwood was convicted the second time under the Act, and illegally committed to Wycombe House of Correction, "till delivered by due course of law." Both of these imprisonments were owing to the intolerance of his neighbour, Ambrose Benett. On June 7th, he was required to find sureties for appearing at the next Assize, and refusing to do so (as an act derogatory to his innocence) was further kept in prison till the 25th of the same month, about two months before the Fire of London.

The next six years seem to have been, for Ellwood at any rate, a time of comparative calm, and it was during this period of rest that he married Mary Ellis (October 28th, 1669). The severity of the law largely depended on local authorities, and many of them were unwilling to go to extremes against peaceable and respected neighbours. Moreover, the first

Conventicle Act expired in July, 1669, but in 1670 another was passed—the one Ellwood calls *THE* Conventicle Act. It did not punish Nonconformity by imprisonment or exile, but its provisions, as Ellwood shows, were grossly unconstitutional. Especially was this the case in the encouragement given to informers. Poulter, Lacy, and Aris, the “Trepan,” the “Cow-Stealer,” and the “broken Ironmonger,” appear as specimens of the worthless wretches at whose mercy the peaceable Friends were placed. “Of all sufferers,” says Dr. Stoughton, “the Quakers suffered most, because they were most persistent and resolute in continuing their meetings, because when officers were on their way to seize them they would not escape : and further because they would not pay fines, nor even gaol fees, nor offer any petition to be set at liberty. Such people created the greatest perplexity to magistrates and the Government, and completely wore out their patience, thus ultimately gaining their own point by an invincible resistance under the form of perfect passivity.” It was under this Act that the memorable trial of William Penn and William Mead, for addressing a meeting in Gracechurch Street, took place in August 1670.

Perhaps the entreaties of Richard Carver, the Quaker sailor who carried Charles II. on his shoulders from a fishing boat to the French coast in 1651, had something to do with the “Act of Clemency,” by which in March, 1672, nearly 500 Quakers received the Royal pardon.

xviii. Historical Introduction.

This was about a fortnight after the famous Declaration of Indulgence, by which Nonconformists were allowed to take out licences for services. There are thousands of applications preserved in the Record Office, but not one is from a Quaker. The Friends would not ask leave of man to worship God.

The Declaration of Indulgence being objected to as unconstitutional, was withdrawn in 1673, and during the remaining twelve years of Charles II.'s reign, the Conventicle Act continued in force, and was administered with varying degrees of severity. Ellwood tells us how he wrote a pamphlet pointing out to friendly authorities the way in which the Act might be most leniently administered. It was unfortunate for him that the pamphlet came out just at the time when Nonconformists had come under fresh suspicion on account of the Rye House Plot, and it nearly got him into trouble with the Hertfordshire magistrates. His book closes abruptly with an account of a case of persecution in the same year, in which he makes a passing reference to the general pardon granted by James II. in 1686. This event brought to a close the Governmental persecution, so to speak, of the Quakers, but even under the milder rule of William III., and to a much later date, they were subject to grievous annoyance by prosecution for tithes, in which suffering, as Wyeth's account shows, Ellwood had his share.

Ellwood's narrative reveals an attractive personality. At times one may feel that he

is a little self-conscious—in his youth almost “priggish,” as when he rebukes his father, and excuses his disobedience by reasonings on the “extent of parental power.” His opinion of his own poetic effusions, in which there is certainly more effusiveness than poetry, may strike us as being even more blindly partial than that of amateur writers in general. But these blemishes detract but little from the beauty of a broad, sane, and genial nature. His estimates of character, though sometimes severe, are hardly ever unkindly, unless in the case of one or two whom he considered unfair antagonists. Transparently sincere himself, he was indignant with anything like insincerity in others. His spirited conduct in protecting Gulielma Springett from the drunken cavalier between Sevenoaks and Tonbridge shows that he was no believer in absolute non-resistance; while the energy with which he took up the cause of Thomas Zachary affords a curious contrast to the passivity of men like Isaac Penington.

His early experience as a magistrate's son probably stood him in good stead in later life, and he was not a little proud of his knowledge of law. His conversation with the Warden at Maidenhead, his plea before the Recorder of London, and his argument with the Rickmansworth Justices, suggest that he might have made a very good barrister. With all his straightforward simplicity, Masson's epithet of “thick-headed” is surely one of the last that can be applied to him. And with what shrewd

xx. Historical Introduction.

and kindly insight he discriminated character ! A perusal of the autobiography furnishes the mind with a gallery of portraits never to be forgotten. We get illuminating glimpses of the early Quaker leaders — James Nayler, Edward Burrough, William Penn, Isaac Penington, and George Fox himself, as well as of John Milton. Then there are the pure and beautiful pictures of those ideals of early Quaker womanhood—Mary Penington, Guli Penn and Mary Ellis. Less admirable, but vividly portrayed, is the hot-headed old squire, Walter Ellwood. And what a multitude of minor figures, each struck off with a Bunyan-like vividness ! The “ budge ” old warden of Maidenhead, and the “ brisk, genteel,” young shopkeeper, Cherry ; the couple whose home Ellwood visited at Bledlow, “ Thomas Saunders, who professed the truth, but his wife whose name was Damaris did possess it ” ; the foul-minded Justice Clarke, and that “ airy piece,” his daughter ; John Ovey the fellmonger ; the Beaconsfield constables, true successors of Dogberry and Verges, and their neighbour, “ Mother Grime,” how living they all seem ! Then there are that “ honest, hearty, discreet, and grave matron,” Frances Raunce, of Wycombe, whose kindness the motherless youth appreciated so keenly ; the “ two braving Baptists ” in Bridewell (Ellwood was never very partial to a Baptist) ; the “ ancient man, a grave citizen, trudging through the gate in great haste,” whose honest indignation led to Ellwood’s release from Newgate ; the poor little pickpocket “ Honey-

pot"; the worthy but unamiable Welshman, Morgan Watkins; the "smooth, soft, and oily" Justice Titchborn; and the "rough, severe and sharp" Justice Fotherley, and so the list might be extended almost indefinitely.

A word remains to be said about the country which is the scene of most of the narrative. It is fast losing its secluded character with the advent of two lines of railway, but still retains much of its olden charm. Undulating hills and valleys, with long stretches of beech wood, specially lovely in the calm autumn days, when they are ablaze with gold and bronze, and varied here and there by the vivid crimson leaves of the wild cherry, whose flamelike colour is repeated here and there in the orchards which surround the quaint timber-framed farmhouses. Many of them were inhabited in those days by Friends, who were gradually driven by incessant squabbles about tithe to forsake agriculture, for the life of bankers or merchants in the towns. It seems a fitting region for the "People of Peace."

The cyclist or pedestrian may fittingly enter the Ellwood country from the Great Western railway station at Slough. Passing the historic churchyard at Stoke Poges, associated with Gray's "Elegy," he may note the mansion of Penn's descendants close by, and then inquire his way to Hedgerley, where the house of George Salter, where Justice Benett broke up the meeting, may possibly yet be identified in one of the old timber-framed buildings beside

xxii. Historical Introduction.

the road. Green lanes lead from Hedgerley to the little town of Beaconsfield, where the tomb of Ellwood's "courteous neighbour," Edmund Waller, is conspicuous in the churchyard, and the townhouse, where Ellwood conversed with the Constables and Mother Grime, may be seen adjoining a grocery establishment in the market place. From Beaconsfield, two miles run through the lanes, or a walk across Wilton Park, leads to the historic Meeting-house at Jordans, where Ellwood and his wife lie buried with the Penns and Peningtons. Close by is the Grove, where Ellwood heard Burrough and Nayler, and a little further on, at Chalfont St. Peter's, is the Grange, where he visited Isaac Penington, but both mansions have been almost entirely rebuilt. Then a little way up the valley there is Chalfont St. Giles, where the "pretty box" which Ellwood took for Milton is still to be seen, as well as Bottrells, the temporary abode of the Peningtons (now much modernised), and Sir Thomas Clayton's mansion at the Vache. The lane in front of Bottrells leads to Coleshill, which though in the Buckinghamshire parish of Amersham, was formerly a detached piece of Hertfordshire, which accounts for Ellwood's relations with the Sheriff and magistrates of that county. His house at Hunger Hill has disappeared, but the "little cottage" he describes in "Directions to a Friend" may still be seen not far beyond the "Magpies." In the valley below is the old-fashioned town of Amersham, where Bury Farm, which is mentioned as "Berrie

House," stands at the corner of the Beaconsfield road. A little further up the street is the Griffin Inn, from the courtyard of which Justice Benett is supposed to have rushed out upon the bearers at Edward Perrot's funeral, on its way to the Friends' burying ground on the Wycombe road. Five miles over the hills brings us to High Wycombe, where Jeremiah Stevens' house is close to the corner round which one turns to the right in passing into the High Street, and is known as the "Old White House." Further to the north, in the Vale of Aylesbury, the old abode of the Ellwoods is pointed out at Crowell, and within easy reach are Chinnor Church, Thame Grammar School (the old building), and John White's house at Meadle, from which Wendover or Aylesbury station may be easily reached, the whole run amounting to about fifty miles.

W. H. SUMMERS.

Hungerford

THE
HISTORY
OF THE
LIFE
OF

Thomas Ellwood.

Or, an Account of his BIRTH,
EDUCATION, &c.

WITH
Divers Observations on his Life and Manners
when a Youth : And how he came to be
Convinced of the *Truth* ; with his many
Sufferings and Services for the same.

Also Several Other
Remarkable Passages and Occurrences.

Written by his own Hand.

To which is added, A
S U P P L E M E N T
By J. W.

Heb. 11. 2. *By Faith the Elders obtained a good Report.*

LONDON: Printed and Sold by the Assigns of
J. Bowle, in *White-Hart-Court* in *Gracious-Street*,
1714.

PREFACE TO FIRST EDITION.

GATHER up the Fragments that remain, that nothing be Lost, John 6. 12, was the direction of our Saviour to his Disciples, after he had fed the Multitude. Which may well and usefully be applied, to the Collecting and Preserving the Accounts of the Lives of Good Men : Men who in their Day, have been eminently useful in those Stations of Life, wherein God, by his good Providence, hath placed them. And this preserving, by Publication, is the rather to be done, when themselves do leave behind them, in Writing, an Account of their Lives, and of the signal Mercies of God to them therein : For from such Accounts, may best be gathered, by the Reader, the Man's particular State, Exercise and Growth in the Work of Restoration, out of the Fall and Degeneracy : And, in the Reading thereof, be not only excited to Bless the Name of the Lord, on his behalf ; but also gain some direction from the Path, so fairly tract out, and ground of Hope ; that by being Faithful, they may likewise attain to the same good Experience.

There is not with me any doubt, but something of this kind may be the Lot of many, into whose

xxviii. Preface to the First Edition.

Hands this Treatise may happen to come ; for that they will herein meet with variety of Exercises, and the Providences of God therein, all related with great strength and plainness of Speech : Our Deceased Friend Thomas Ellwood, having been a Man whom God had endued with singular Abilities, both as a Man, and as a Christian ; which is evident, not only from this short Account of his Life, which was written by himself, and by the Supplement added hereunto ; but more largely from his many useful Labours and Services in the many Books which he writ in the Defence of Truth, and the Friends thereof : For which Service he was in a particular manner qualified, by Spiritual Wisdom and Christian Obedience ; to which, in him, was added great strength and depth of Judgment, wherein he could discern the Spirits of others, and was very much the Master of his own, as did appear to such who knew him, not only by the soundness of his Reasoning, and the Seasonableness of his Words ; but also by his great and exemplary Modesty, in that he was not hasty to propose, nor rudely tenacious to insist on what he had proposed ; if any thing, though not well expressed, yet well intended, was offered by any one much Weaker ; nay, though but by a Babe in Christ.

His Countenance was Manly and Cheerful ; His Deportment Grave, yet Affable and Courteous, even to the meanest Person ; His Conversation Innocent, Pleasant and Instructive, yet severe against any thing that was beyond

Preface to the First Edition. xxix.

the Liberty of Truth. These, with his other Qualifications of Body and Mind, did render him both very Acceptable and very Useful, as a Friend, as a Neighbour, and as a Member and Elder in the Church of Christ; and the more, for that his Time was chiefly Employed in being Serviceable in one or other of these Capacities.

I might here particularly mention the several Labours of our Deceased Friend, according to their respective Times, and the Nature of their several Subjects; but much of this being already done in the ensuing Pages, I chuse to remit the Reader thither; by which possibly he may be excited to the Perusal of them, and shall only say concerning them, that the Judicious Reader will easily Observe, that his Method and Stile do denote him to have been a Scholar: And yet not farther so, than the Simplicity and Purity of the Truth, whereof he made profession, would permit him.

I was with our Friend Thomas Ellwood, the greater part of his Sickness: In which he was also very frequently visited by our Friend George Bowles, who was his Neighbour; to whom therefore I refer, for the Account which he may give of his Sickness and Dying Words.*

As it was my good Lot to be well acquainted with him (though only in the latter Years of his Life) and know that he did neither use nor

* Appendix, page 321.

xxx. Preface to the First Edition.

encourage the bestowing elaborate Encomiums upon Persons Deceased : So neither shall I add further concerning him, than to say with the Apostle concerning the Faithful, That he was Righteous, God Testifying of his Gifts; and by it being Dead, yet Speaketh (Heb. 11. 4).

J.W.*

London, the 12th of the
2d Month, 1714.

* Joseph Wyeth. See Appendix: Biographical Notes.



EAST END.



FRONT VIEW.

THOMAS ELLWOOD'S BIRTHPLACE AT CROWELL.

THE HISTORY OF THE
LIFE OF
THOMAS ELLWOOD

(WRITTEN BY HIMSELF).

ALTHOUGH my Station, not being so Eminent either in the Church of Christ, or in the world, as others who have moved in higher Orbs, may not afford such considerable Remarks as theirs, yet inasmuch as in the course of my travels through this vale of tears I have passed through various and some uncommon Exercises, which the Lord hath been graciously pleased to support me under and conduct me through, I hold it a matter excusable at least, if not commendable, to give the World some little Account of my Life, that in Recounting the many Deliverances and Preservations which the Lord hath vouchsafed to work for me, both I, by a grateful Acknowledgment thereof and Return of Thanksgiving unto him therefore, may in some Measure set forth his abundant Goodness to me, and others, whose Lot it may be to tread the same Path and fall into the same or like Exercises, may be encouraged to persevere

in the Way of Holiness, and with full Assurance of Mind to trust in the Lord, whatsoever Trials may befall them.

To begin therefore with mine own Beginning, I was Born in the Year of our Lord 1639, about the Beginning of the *eighth month* (so far as I have been able to inform my self), for the Parish *Register*, which relates to the time (not of birth but) of *Baptism* (as they call it), is not to be relied on.*

The Place of my Birth was a little Country Town called *Crowell*, situate in the upper side of *Oxfordshire*, Three Miles East-ward from *Thame*, the nearest Market-Town.

My Father's Name was *Walter Ellwood*, and my Mother's Maiden-Name was *Elizabeth Potman*, both well descended, but of declining Families. So that what my Father possessed (which was a pretty Estate in Lands,† and more as I have heard in Monies), he received (as he had done his name *Walter*), from his Grandfather *Walter Gray*, whose Daughter and only Child was his Mother.

In my very Infancy, when I was but about two Years Old, I was carried to *London*; for

* The Rector of *Crowell*, the Rev. F. N. Davis, has kindly supplied the following excerpts from the Church Register:—*Elizabeth Ellwood*, daughter of *Walter* and *Elizabeth*, bap. August 29, 1634; *Walter*, bap. March 3, 1636; *Mary*, bap. August 29, 1637; *Thomas*, bap. October 15, 1639.

† Local tradition points to a farmhouse still in good repair, but much altered, as the home of the *Ellwoods* at *Crowell*.

the *Civil War* between *King* and *Parliament* breaking then forth, my father (who favoured the Parliament-Side; though he took not Arms, not holding himself safe at his Country Habitation, which lay too near some Garrisons of the King's),* betook himself to *London*, that City then holding for the Parliament.

There was I bred up (though not without much Difficulty, the City-Air not agreeing with my tender Constitution), and there continued until *Oxford* was surrendered,† and the war, in Appearance, ended.

In this time, my parents contracted an Acquaintance and intimate Friendship with the Lady *Springett*, who being then the Widow of Sir *William Springett* (who died in the Parliament Service),‡ was afterwards the Wife of

* The Royalists had strong outposts at Brill and Bearstall, a few miles north of Thame, from which they made frequent sallies into the Vale of Aylesbury.

† Oxford was surrendered to the Parliamentary forces, June 20, 1646.

‡ Sir William Springett belonged to an old Sussex family, having its seat at Ringmer. While still very young, he received knighthood from Charles I. at Hampton Court, but soon after entered the service of the Parliament, being a Puritan of great earnestness and intensity of conviction. His wife (Mary Proude) was born in Holland, while her father, Sir John Proude, was in the service of the United Provinces and was naturalised in England by Act of Parliament. She made her way, at great personal risk, to the death-bed of her husband. He died of fever at Arundel, February 23rd, 1643-4, and was buried in Ringmer Church. Gulielma Maria Springett was born shortly after her father's death.

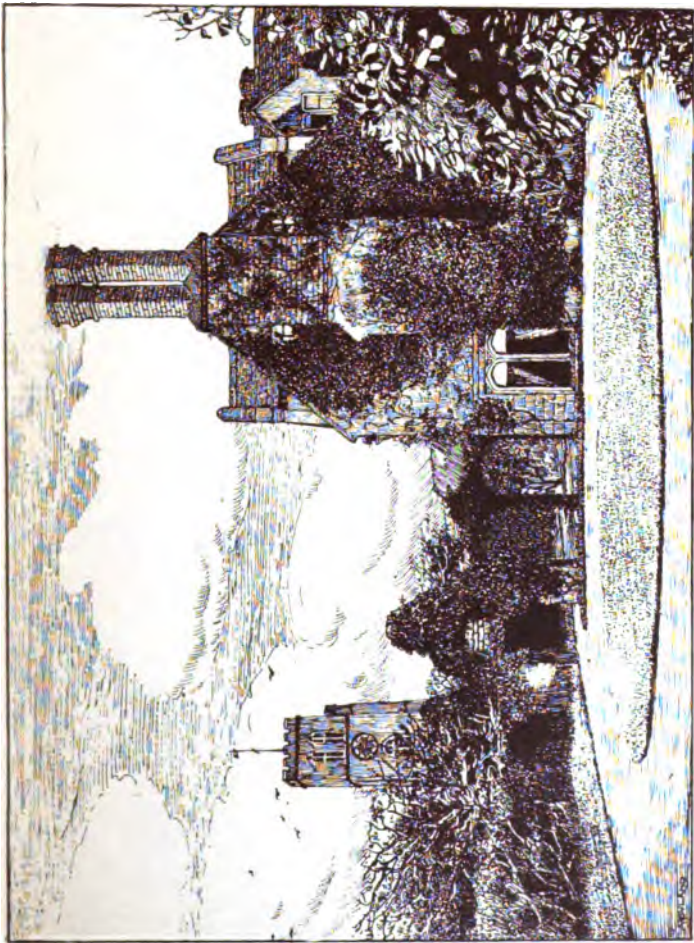
*Isaac Penington,** Eldest Son of Alderman *Penington* of *London*. And this Friendship devolving from the Parents to the Children, I became an early and particular Playfellow to her Daughter *Guli* ; being admitted, as such, to ride with her in her little Coach, drawn by her Footman about *Lincoln's-Inn-Fields*.

I mention this in this Place, because the Continuation of that Acquaintance and Friendship having been an Occasional Means of my being afterwards brought to the Knowledge of the Blessed TRUTH, I shall have frequent Cause, in the Course of the following Discourse, to make honourable Mention of that Family, to which I am under so many and great Obligations.

Soon after the Surrender of *Oxford*, my Father returned to his Estate at *Crowell*, which by that time he might have need enough to look after, having spent (I suppose), the greatest Part of the Monies which had been left him by his Grandfather in maintaining himself and his Family at a high Rate in *London*.

My elder Brother (for I had one Brother and two Sisters, all elder than my self) was, while we lived in *London*, boarded at a private School, in the House of one *Francis Atkinson*, at a Place called *Hadley*, near *Barnet*, in *Middlesex*, where he had made some good Proficiency in the *Latin* and *French* Tongues. But after we had left the City, and were re-settled in the Country,

* The marriage took place in 1654. See Appendix : Biographical Notes.



OLD GRAMMAR SCHOOL AND CHURCH, THAME.

he was taken from that private School and sent to the Free School at *Thame*, in *Oxfordshire*.*

Thither also was I sent as soon as my tender Age would permit ; for I was indeed but young when I went, and yet seemed younger than I was, by reason of my low and little Stature. For it was held, for some Years, a doubtful point whether I should not have proved a Dwarf. But after I was arrived at the Fifteenth Year of my Age (or thereabouts), I began to shoot up, and gave not up growing till I had attained the middle Size and Stature of Men.

At this School (which at that time was in good reputation), I profited apace, having then a natural Propensity to Learning ; so that at the first reading over of my Lesson I commonly made my self Master of it : And yet (which is strange to think of), few Boys in the School wore out more Birch than I. For though I was never (that I remember) whip't upon the Score of not having my Lesson ready, or of not saying it well, yet being a little busie boy, full of Spirit, of a working Head and active Hand, I could not easily conform myself to the grave and sober Rules and (as I then thought), severe

* The old Grammar School at Thame (now converted into a private school for young ladies) is a beautiful old building. It contains several relics which go back to Ellwood's time, including a quaint old master's seat, with a cupboard for the "birch" at the side, and an old bedstead dating from the reign of James I. John Hampden was also educated here.

Orders of the School, but was often playing one waggish Prank or other among my Fellow-Scholars, which subjected me to Correction, so that I have come under the Discipline of the Rod twice in a Forenoon. Which yet brake no Bones.

Had I been continued at this School, and in due time preferred to a higher, I might in likelihood have been a Scholar : for I was observed to have a Genius apt to learn. But my Father having, so soon as the *Republican-Government* began to settle, accepted the Office of a *Justice of the Peace* (which was no way Beneficial, but merely Honorary, and every way Expensive), and put himself into a Port and Course of Living agreeable thereunto ; and having also removed my Brother from *Thame-School* to *Merton-College* in *Oxford*, and entered him there in the highest and most chargeable Condition of a *Fellow-Commoner* : he found it needful to retrench his Expences elsewhere ; the Hurt of which fell upon me. For he thereupon took me from School, to save the Charge of Maintaining me there ; which was somewhat like plucking green Fruit from the Tree, and laying it by before it was come to its due Ripeness ; which will thenceforth shrink and wither, and lose that little Juice and Relish which it began to have.

Even so it fared with me. For being taken home when I was but Young, and before I was well settled in my Studies (though I had made a good Progress in the *Latin* Tongue, and was entered in the *Greek*), being left too much to

my self to Ply or Play with my Books, or without them, as I pleased : I soon shook Hands with my Books by shaking my Books out of my Hands, and laying them, by degrees, quite aside, and addicted myself to such youthful Sports and Pleasures as the place afforded and my Condition could reach unto.

By this Means, in a little time I began to lose that little Learning I had acquired at School, and by a continued Disuse of my Books became at length so utterly a Stranger to Learning, that I could not have read, far less have understood, a sentence in *Latin*. Which I was so sensible of that I warily avoided reading to others, even in an *English* Book, lest, if I should meet with a *Latin* word, I should shame myself by mispronouncing it.

Thus I went on, taking my Swing in such vain Courses as were accounted harmless recreations, entertaining my Companions and familiar Acquaintance with pleasant Discourses in our Conversations, by the meer force of Mother Wit and Natural Parts, without the help of School-Cultivation ; and was accounted good Company too.

But I always sorted my self with Persons of Ingenuity, Temperance, and Sobriety ; for I loathed Scurrilities in Conversation, and had a natural Aversion to immoderate Drinking. So that in the time of my greatest Vanity I was preserved from Profaneness and the grosser Evils of the World : which render'd me acceptable to persons of the best Note in that Country

then. I often waited on the Lord *Wenman** at his House, *Thame-Park* (about two miles from *Crowell*, where I lived), to whose Favour I held myself entituled in a two-fold Respect, both as my Mother was nearly Related to his Lady, and as he had been pleased to bestow his Name upon me, when he made large Promises for me at the Font. He was a Person of great Honour and Virtue, and always gave me a Kind Reception at his Table, how often soever I came. And I have Cause to think I should have received from this Lord some advantageous Preferment in this World, as soon as he had found me capable of it (tho' betwixt him and my Father there was not then so good an understanding as might have been wish'd), had I not been, in a little time after, called into the Service of the best and highest Lord: and thereby lost the Favour of all my Friends, Relations, and Acquaintance of this World. To the Account of which most happy Exchange I hasten, and therefore willingly pass over many Particularities of my youthful Life. Yet one Passage I am willing to mention, for the Effect it had upon me afterwards: which was thus.

My Father being then in the Commission of the Peace, and going to a *Petty-Sessions* at *Wallington*, I waited on him thither. And

* The second Viscount Wenman. He sided with the Parliament in the Civil War, and took part in the negotiations with the King at Oxford, Uxbridge and Newport. After Cromwell had expressed his determination to put an end to these negotiations, Lord Wenman appears to have retired from public affairs.



TOWN HALL AND HIGH STREET, WATLINGTON.

when we came near the Town, the Coachman, seeing a nearer and easier Way, than the common road, through a Corn Field, and that it was wide enough for the Wheels to run, without endammaging the Corn, turned down there. Which being observed by a Husband Man, who was at plow not far off, he ran to us, and stopping the Coach, poured forth a Mouthful of Complaints, in none of the best Language, for driving over the Corn. My Father mildly Answered him, That if there was an Offence committed, he must rather impute it to his Servant, than himself ; since he neither directed him to drive that Way, nor knew which Way he drove. Yet added, " that he was going to such an Inn at the Town, whither if he came he would make him full satisfaction, for whatsoever Dammage he had sustained thereby." And so on we went, the Man venting his Discontent, as he went back, in angry Accents. At the Town, upon enquiry, we understood that it was a way often used, and without dammage, being broad enough ; but that it was not the common Road, which yet lay not far from it, and was also good enough : Wherefore my Father bid his Man drive Home that Way.

It was late in the Evening when we returned, and very dark ; and this quarrelsome Man, who had troubled himself and us in the Morning, having gotten another lusty Fellow, like himself, to assist him, waylay'd us in the Night, expecting we would return the same way we came. But when they found we did not, but took the

common Way, they, angry that they were disappointed, and loth to lose their Purpose (which was to put an Abuse upon us), coasted over to us in the dark, and laying hold on the Horses Bridles, stop't them from going on. My Father, asking his man what the Reason was that he went not on, was Answered, *That there were two Men at the Horses heads, who held them back, and would not suffer them to go forward.* Whereupon my Father, opening the Boot, step't out, and I followed close at his Heels. Going up to the place where the men stood, he demanded of them the Reason of this Assault. They said, *We were upon the corn.* We knew, by the Route, we were not on the Corn, but in the common way, and told them so. But they told us, *They were resolved they would not let us go any farther, but would make us go back again.* My Father endeavoured, by gentle Reasoning, to persuade them to forbear, and not run themselves farther into the Danger of the Law, which they were run too far into already: but they rather derided him for it. Seeing therefore fair Means would not work upon them, he spake more roughly to them, charging them to deliver their Clubs (for each of them had a great Club in his Hand, somewhat like those which are called *Quarter-staves*). They thereupon, laughing, told him, *They did not bring them thither for that End.* Thereupon my Father, turning his Head to me, said, *Tom, Disarm them.*

I stood ready at his Elbow, waiting only for the Word of Command. For being naturally

of a bold Spirit, full then of youthful Heat, and that, too, heightned by the Sence I had, not only of the Abuse, but insolent Behaviour of those rude Fellows, my Blood began to boyle, and my fingers itch'd (as the saying is), to be dealing with them. Wherefore, stepping boldly forward to lay hold on the staff of him that was nearest to me, I said, *Sirrah! Deliver your Weapon.* He thereupon raised his Club (which was big enough to have knock't down an Ox), intending (no doubt), to have knock't me down with it, as probably he would have done, had I not, in the twinkling of an Eye, whip't out my Rapier, and made a Pass upon him. I could not have failed running him through up to the hilt, had he stood his Ground: but the suddain and unexpected Sight of my bright Blade, glittering in the dark Night, did so amaze and terrifie the Man, that, slipping aside, he avoided my Thrust, and letting his Staff sink, betook himself to his Heels for safety; which his Companion seeing, fled also. I followed the former as fast as I could, but *Timor addidit* Alas, Fear gave him Wings, and made him swiftly fly; so that, although I was accounted very nimble, yet the further we ran the more ground he gain'd on me; so that I could not overtake him: which made me think he took Shelter under som Bush, which he knew where to find, tho' I did not. Mean while, the Coachman (who had sufficiently the outside of a Man), excus'd himself from intermedling, under pretence that he durst not leave his Horses: and so left me to shift for my self. And I was

gone so far beyond my Knowledge, that I understood not which way I was to go : till by Hollowing, and being Hollowed to again, I was directed where to find my Company.

We had easie Means to have found out who these Men were (the principal of them having been in the Day time at the Inn, and both quarrell'd with the Coachman, and threatened to be even with him when he went back) : but since they came off no better in their Attempt, my Father thought it better not to know them, than to oblige himself to a Prosecution of them.

At that time, and for a good while after, I had no regret upon my Mind for what I had done, and designed to have done, in this Case, but went on, in a sort of Bravery, resolving to kill, if I could, any Man that should make the like Attempt to put any Affront on us : and for that Reason seldom went afterwards upon those public Services without a loaded Pistol in my Pocket. But when it pleased the Lord, in his Infinite Goodness, to call me out of the Spirit and Ways of the World, and give me the Knowledge of his saving Truth, whereby the Actions of my fore-past Life were set in order before me : a sort of Horror seized on me, when I considered how near I had been to the staining of my Hands with Human Blood. And whensoever afterwards I went that way ; and indeed as often since as the Matter has come into my Remembrance, my soul has blessed the Lord for my Deliverance, and Thanksgivings and Praises have arisen in my Heart (as now, at the relating of it, they do) to Him who preserved and with

held me from shedding Man's Blood. Which is the Reason for which I have given this Account of that Action, that others may be warned by it.

About this time my dear and honoured Mother (who was indeed a Woman of singular Worth and Virtue), departed this Life, having a little before heard of the Death of her eldest Son, who (falling under the Displeasure of my Father, for refusing to resign his Interest in an Estate, which my father sold, and thereupon desiring that he might have Leave to Travel; in hopes that Time and Absence might work a Reconciliation), went into *Ireland*, with a Person powerful there in those Times,* by whose Means he was quickly preferred to a Place of Trust and Profit, but lived not long to enjoy it.

I mentioned before, that during my Father's Abode in *London*, in the time of the *Civil Wars*, he contracted a Friendship with the Lady *Springett*, then a Widow, and afterwards Married to *Isaac Penington*, Esq.; To continue which he sometimes visited them at their Country-Lodgings (as at *Datchet*, and at *Causham-Lodge*,† near *Reading*). And having heard that they were come to live upon their own Estate at *Chalfont*, in *Buckinghamshire* (about Fifteen Miles from *Crowell*), he went one Day to Visit them there, and to return at Night, taking me with him.

But very much surprised we were, when, being come thither, we first heard, then found,

* This may have been Henry Cromwell.

† "Causham" is the old spelling of Caversham.

they were become *Quakers* ; a People we had no Knowledge of, and a Name we had, till then, scarce heard of.

So great Change, from a Free, Debonair, and Courtly sort of Behaviour (which we formerly had found them in), to so strict a Gravity as they now received us with, did not a little amuse us, and disappoint our Expectation of such a pleasant Visit as we used to have, and had now promised ourselves. Nor could my Father have any Opportunity, by a private Conference with them, to understand the Ground or Occasion of this Change, there being some other Strangers with them (related to *Isaac Penington*), who came that Morning from *London* to Visit them also.

For my Part I sought and at length found Means to cast my self into the Company of the Daughter, whom I found gathering some Flowers in the Garden, attended by her Maid, who was also a *Quaker*. But when I addressed my self to her after my accustomed manner, with Intention to engage her in some Discourse which might introduce Conversation on the Foot of our former Acquaintance : though she treated me with a courteous mein, yet (as young as she was), the Gravity of her Look and Behaviour struck such an Awe upon me, that I found my self not so much Master of my self as to pursue any further Converse with her. Wherefore, asking Pardon for my Boldness in having intruded my self into her private Walks, I withdrew, not without some Disorder (as I thought at least), of Mind.

We stay'd Dinner, which was very handsome, and lacked nothing to recommend it to me, but the want of Mirth and pleasant Discourse, which we could neither have with them, nor, by reason of them, with one another amongst our selves; the Weightiness that was upon their Spirits and Countenances keeping down the Lightness that would have been up in us. We stay'd, notwithstanding, till the rest of the Company took leave of them: and then we also, doing the same, returned, not greatly satisfied with our Journey, nor knowing what in particular to find fault with.

Yet this good Effect that Visit had upon my Father, who was then in the Commission for the Peace, that it disposed him to a more favourable Opinion of and Carriage towards those People, when they came in his way, as not long after one of them did. For a young Man, who lived in *Buckinghamshire*, came on a *First Day* to the Church (so called), at a Town called *Chinner* (a mile from *Crowell*), having, it seems, a Pressure on his Mind to say something to the Minister of that Parish. He being an acquaintance of mine, drew me sometimes to hear him, as it did then. The young Man stood in the Isle before the Pulpit, all the time of the Sermon, not speaking a Word till the Sermon and Prayer after it were ended, and then spoke a few Words to the Priest, Of which all that I could hear was, That *The Prayer of the Wicked is Abomination to the Lord*, and that *God heareth not Sinners*.

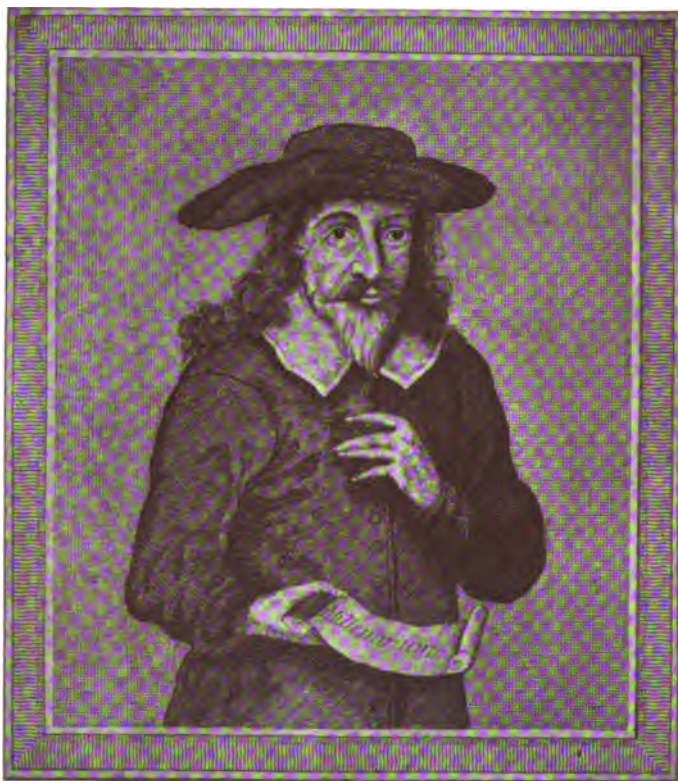
Somewhat more, I think, he did say (which

I could not distinctly hear, for the Noise the People made), and more probably he would have said, had he not been interrupted by the Officers, who took him into Custody, and led him out in order to carry him before my Father.

When I understood that, I hastened home, that I might give my Father a fair Account of the Matter before they came. I told him the Young Man behaved himself quietly and peaceably, spake not a Word till the Minister had quite done his Service : and that what he then spake was but short, and was delivered without Passion or ill Language. This I knew would furnish my Father with a fair Ground, whereon to discharge the Man, if he would.

And accordingly, when they came, and made an high Complaint against the Man (who said little for himself), my Father, having Examined the Officers who brought him, what the Words that he spake were (which they did not well agree in), and at what time he spake them (which they all agreed to be after the Minister had done), and then, whether he gave the Minister any reviling Language, or endeavoured to raise a Tumult among the People (which they could not charge him with) ; not finding that he had broken the Law, he Counsell'd the young Man to be careful that he did not make or occasion any publick Disturbances, and so dismissed him. Which I was glad of.

Some time after this, my Father, having gotten some further Account of the People called *Quakers*, and being desirous to be informed concerning their principles, made another Visit



JAMES NAYLER.

From a contemporary satirical Print.

to *Isaac Penington* and his Wife, at their House called the *Grange*,* in *Peter's Chalfont*, and took both my Sisters and me with him.

It was in the *Tenth Month*, in the Year 1659, that we went thither ; where we found a very kind Reception, and tarried some Days : one day, at least, the longer, for that, while we were there, a Meeting was appointed at a Place about a Mile from thence, to which we were invited to go, and willingly went.

It was held in a Farm-House called the *Grove*,† which having formerly been a Gentleman's Seat, had a very large Hall, and that well filled.

To this Meeting came *Edward Burrough*, besides other Preachers as *Thomas Curtis* and *James Nailor*:‡ but none spoke there, at

* The Grange still forms one of the most attractive residential properties in the neighbourhood of Chalfont St. Peter, although very little of the 17th Century building remains. The Peningtons had to quit the Grange about the year 1665, the estate being sequestered by the Crown ; presumably in consequence of the part Alderman Penington, the father of Isaac, had taken in the trial of Charles I.

† The Grove. This manorial estate has been closely connected with Chalfont St. Giles since the time of the Conquest. In the village church there are many memorials to former owners. It is not known how the Quakers came to hold their meeting there in 1659, but in 1715 the estate was held by a Quaker named Daniel Wharley, who married a daughter of Isaac Penington. He ultimately sold it to the Duke of Portland, of Bulstrode. The present house has been largely rebuilt.

‡ See Biographical Notes in Appendix, where further particulars of these three Friends are given.

that time, but *Edward Burrough*. Next to whom (as it were under him), it was my Lot to sit (on a Stool by the Side of a long Table on which he sate), and I drank in his Words with Desire : for they not only Answered my Understanding, but warmed my Heart with a certain Heat, which I had not till then felt from the Ministry of any Man.

When the Meeting was ended, our Friends took us home with them again ; and after Supper, the Evenings being long, the Servants of the Family (who were *Quakers*), were called in, and we all sat down in Silence. But long we had not so sate before *Edward Burrough* began to speak among us. And although he spoke not long, yet what he said did touch, as I suppose, my Father's (Religious) Copy-hold, as the Phrase is. And he, having been from his Youth a Professor (though not join'd in that which is call'd *Close Communion* with any one Sort), and valuing himself upon the Knowledge he esteemed himself to have in the various Notions of each Profession : thought he had now a fair Opportunity to display his Knowledge, and thereupon began to make Objections against what had been delivered.

The Subject of the Discourse was, *The Universal free Grace of God to all Mankind*. To which he opposed the *Calvinistic Tenet of Particular and Personal Predestination*. In Defence of which indefensible Notion he found himself more at a Loss than he expected. *Edward Burrough* said not much to him upon it, though what he said was close and cogent ;

but *James Nailer* interposing, handled the Subject with so much Perspicuity and clear Demonstration, that his Reasoning seemed to be irresistible; and so I suppose my Father found it, which made him willing to drop the Discourse.

As for *Edward Burrough*, he was a brisk young Man, of a ready Tongue (and might have been, for aught I then knew, a Scholar), which made me the less to admire his way of Reasoning. But what drop'd from *James Nailer* had the greater Force upon me, because he look'd but like a plain simple Country-Man, having the Appearance of a Husbandman or a Shepherd.

As my Father was not able to maintain the Argument on his side, so neither did they seem willing to drive it on to an Extremity on their side. But treating him in a soft and gentle Manner, did, after a while, let fall the Discourse: and then we withdrew to our respective Chambers.

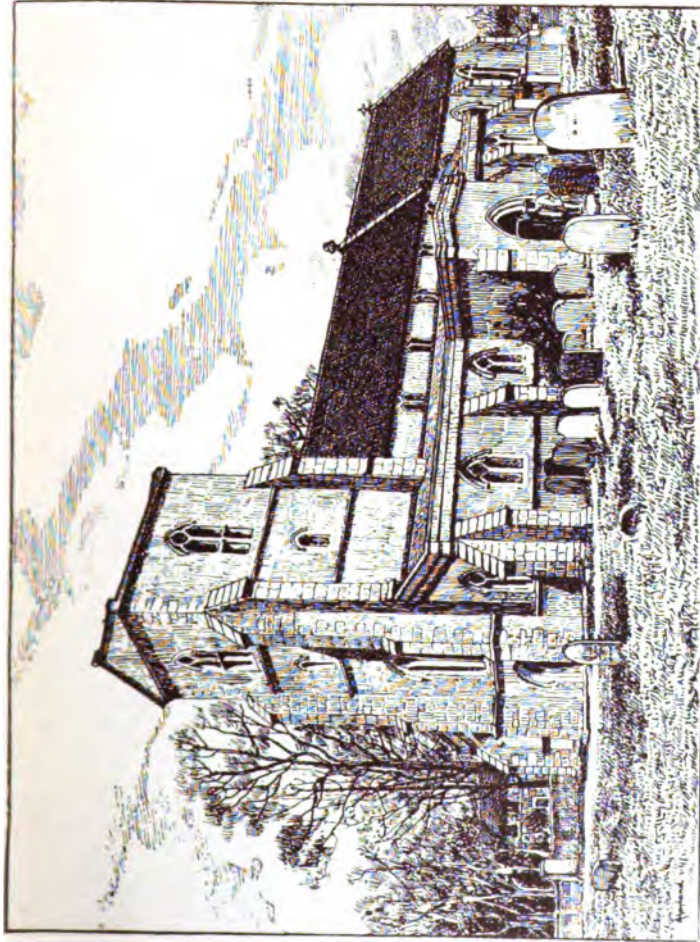
The next Morning we prepared to Return home (that is, my Father, my younger Sister, and myself: for my Elder Sister was gone before by the Stage-Coach to *London*). And when, having taken our Leaves of our Friends, we went forth, they, with *Edward Burrough*, accompanying us to the Gate: he there directed his Speech in a few Words to each of us severally, according to the Sense he had of our several Conditions. And when we were gone off, and they gone in again, they asking him what he thought of us: he Answered them (as they afterwards told me), to this Effect, *As for the Old Man, he is settled on his Lees; and the*

young Woman is light and airy : but the Young Man is Reach't, and may do well, if he don't lose it. And surely that which he said to me, or rather that Spirit in which he spake it, took such fast hold on me, that I felt Sadness and Trouble come over me, though I did not distinctly understand what I was troubled for. I knew not what I ayled, but I knew I ayled something more than ordinary, and my Heart was very heavy.

I found it was not so with my Father and Sister : for as I rode after the Coach I could hear them talk pleasantly one to the other ; but they could not discern how it was with me, because I, riding on *Horsback*, kept much out of Sight.

By the time we got home it was Night. And the next Day, being the first Day of the Week, I went in the Afternoon to hear the Minister of *Chinner* ; and this was the last time I ever went to hear any of that Function. After the Sermon I went with him to his House, and in a Freedom of discourse (which, from a certain Intimacy that was between us, I commonly used with him), told him where I had been, what Company I had met with there, and what Observations I had made to myself thereupon. He seemed to understand as little of them as I had done before, and civilly abstained from casting any unhandsome Reflections on them.

I had a Desire to go to another Meeting of the *Quakers* ; and bade my Father's Man inquire if there was any in the Country thereabouts. He thereupon told me he had heard at *Isaac*



CHINNOR CHURCH.

Penington's that there was to be a Meeting at *High-Wiccomb** on *Thursday* next.

Thither therefore I went, though it was Seven Miles from me. And that I might be rather thought to go out a Coursing than to a Meeting, I let my Gray-Hound run by my Horse-side.

When I came there, and had set up my Horse at an Inn, I was at a Loss how to find the House where the Meeting was to be. I knew it not, and was ashamed to ask after it. Wherefore, having order'd the Horstler to take Care of my Dog, I went into the Street and stood at the Inn-Gate musing with my self what Course to take. But I had not stood long e're I saw an Horseman riding along the Street, whom I remember'd I had seen before at *Isaac Penington's*: and he put up his Horse at the same Inn. Him therefore I resolved to follow, supposing he was going to the Meeting, as indeed he was.

Being come to the House (which proved to be *John Raunce's*),† I saw the People sitting together in an Outer Room: wherefore I stept in and sate down on the first void Seat, the End of a Bench just within the Door, having my Sword by my side and Black Cloaths on,

* Throughout the first edition this town is invariably spelt as above. Whether this was how it appeared in the original MS., or is but the particular choice of the printer's reader is uncertain. The spelling of the seventeenth century is very variable. *Wiccomb*, *Wycombe*, *Wycombe* and *Wickham* all occur in documents of this date, and sometimes two spellings in one document. *Alesbury* for *Aylesbury* is another instance in point.

† See Appendix: Biographical Notes.

which drew some Eyes upon me. It was not long e're one stood up and spake, whom I was afterwards well acquainted with (his name was *Samuel Thornton*):* and what he spake was very suitable and of good Service to me: for it reached Home as if it had been directed to me.

As soon as ever the Meeting was ended, and the People began to rise, I, being next the Door, step't out quickly, and hastning to my Inn, took Horse immediately homewards, and (so far as I remember), my having been gone was not taken notice of by my Father.

This latter Meeting was like the Clinching of a Nail, confirming and fastening in my Mind those good Principles which had sunk into me at the former. My Understanding began to open, and I felt some stirrings in my Breast, tending to the Work of a New Creation in me. The general Trouble and Confusion of Mind, which had for some days lain heavy upon me and pressed me down, without a distinct Discovery of the particular Cause for which it came, began now to wear off, and some Glimmerings of Light began to break forth in me, which let me see my Inward State and Condition towards God. The Light (which before had shone in my Darkness, and the Darkness could not comprehend it) began now to shine out of Darkness, and in some Measure discovered to me what it was that had before clouded me, and brought that Sadness and Trouble upon me. And now I saw that although I had been, in a great Degree, preserved from the common

* See Appendix: Biographical Notes.

Immoralities and gross Pollutions of the World, yet the Spirit of the World had hitherto ruled in me, and led me into Pride, Flattery, Vanity, and Superfluity ; all which was Naught. I found there were many Plants growing in me which were not of the *Heavenly Father's planting* : and that all these (of whatever sort or kind they were, or how specious soever they might appear), must be plucked up.

Now was all my former Life ripped up, and my Sins, by Degrees, were set in order before me. And though they looked not with so black a Hue and so deep a Dye as those of the lowdest Sort of People did : Yet I found that all Sin (even that which had the fairest or finest Shew, as well as that which was more coarse and foul), brought Guilt, and *with* and *for Guilt*, Condemnation on the Soul that sinned. This I felt : and was greatly bowed down under the Sense thereof.

Now also did I receive a *New Law* (an *Inward Law* superadded to the *Outward*) *The Law of the Spirit of Life in Christ Jesus*, which wrought in me against all Evil, not only *in Deed* and *in Word*, but even *in Thought* also : so that everything was brought to Judgment, and Judgment passed upon all. So that I could not any longer go on in my former Ways and Course of Life : for when I did, Judgment took hold upon me for it.

Thus the Lord was graciously pleased to deal with me, in somewhat like manner as he had dealt with his People *Israel* of Old (when they had transgressed his Righteous LAW),

whom by his Prophet he called back, required to *put away the Evil of their Doings* : bidding them, First, *Cease to Do Evil* ; Then, *Learn to Do Well* : before he would admit them to *Reason with Him* ; and before he would impart to them the *Effects of His free Mercy*, Isa. i: 16, 17.

I was now required by this *Inward* and *Spiritual LAW* (*The Law of the Spirit of Life in Christ Jesus*) to *put away the Evil of my Doings* and to *Cease to do Evil*. And what, in particulars, the *Evil* was which I was required to *put away*, and to *cease* from : that Measure of the *Divine LIGHT*, which was now manifested in me, discovered to me : and what the Light made manifest to be *Evil*, *Judgment* passed upon.

So that here began to be a Way cast up before me, for me to walk in : A direct and plain Way ; so plain *that a way faring Man*, how weak and simple soever (though a *Fool*, to the Wisdom, and in the Judgment of the World) *could not Err*, while he continued to walk in it : the Error coming in by his going out of it. And this Way, with respect to me, I saw was that Measure of *Divine Light* which was manifested in me, by which the *Evil of my Doings*, which I was to *put away*, and to *cease* from, was discovered to me.

By this *Divine Light*, then, I saw that though I had not the *Evil* of the common *Uncleanness*, *Debauchery*, *Profaneness*, and *Pollutions of the World* to *put away*, because I had, through the great Goodness of God, and a Civil Education,

been preserved out of those *grosser Evils* ; yet I had many other Evils to *put away*, and to *cease* from : some of which were not, by the World (which lies in Wickedness, 1 John 5. 19), accounted *Evils* : but by the *Light of Christ* were made manifest to me to be *Evils* and as such condemned in me.

As particularly, Those *Fruits* and *Effects* of *PRIDE*, that discover themselves in the *Vanity* and *Superfluity* of APPAREL : which I (as far as my Ability would extend to), took, alas ! too much Delight in. This *Evil of my Doings* I was required to *put away* and *cease* from : and judgment lay upon me till I did so. Wherefore, in Obedience to the *Inward Law* (which agreed with the *Outward*, 1 Tim. 2. 9 ; 1 Pet. 3. 3 ; 1 Tim. 6. 8 ; Jam. 1. 21), I took off from my Apparel those unnecessary Trim-mings of *Lace*, *Ribbands*, and *Useless Buttons*, which had no real Service, but were set on only for that which was, by mistake, called *Ornament*. And I ceased to wear *Rings*.

Again, *The giving of Flattering Titles to Men*, between whom and me there was not any *Relation*, to which such Titles could be pretended to belong. This was an *Evil* I had been much addicted to, and was accounted a ready Artist in : therefore this *Evil* also was I required to *put away*, and *cease from*. So that thenceforward I durst not say, *Sir*, *Master*, *My Lord*, *Madam* (or *My Dame*), or say, *Your Servant* to any one to whom I did not stand in the real Relation of a Servant, which I had never done to any.

Again, *Respect of Persons*, in Uncovering the *Head* and *Bowing the Knee* or *Body in Salutations*, was a Practice I had been much in the Use of. And this being one of the *Vain Customs* of the World, introduced by the Spirit of the World, instead of the true *Honour* which this is a false Representation of, and used in Deceit, as a Token of *Respect*, by Persons one to another, who bear no *real Respect* one to another. And besides, This being a *Type* and proper *Emblem* of that *Divine Honour* which all ought to pay to *Almighty GOD*, and which all, of all sorts (who take upon them the *Christian Name*), appear in, when they offer their Prayers to Him, and therefore should not be given to Men. I found this to be one of those *Evils* which I had been too long doing; therefore I was now required to put it away, and cease from it.

Again, *The Corrupt and Unsound Form of Speaking in the Plural Number to a Single Person* (*YOU* to *One*, instead of *Thou*), contrary to the *Pure, Plain, and Single Language of TRUTH* (*THOU* to *One*, and *YOU* to more than *One*), which had always been used, by *GOD* to *Men*, and *Men* to *GOD*, as well as one to another, from the oldest Record of Time, till *Corrupt Men*, for *Corrupt Ends*, in later and *Corrupt Times*, to *Flatter, Fawn, and work* upon the *Corrupt Nature* in *Men*, brought in that false and senseless Way of Speaking *YOU* to *One*; which hath since corrupted the *Modern Languages*, and hath greatly debased the Spirits, and depraved the Manners of Men. This *Evil Custom* I had been as forward in as others,

and this I was now called out of, and required to cease from.

These, and many more *Evil Customs*, which had sprang up in the Night of Darkness and general Apostacy from the TRUTH and True RELIGION, were now, by the Inshining of this pure Ray of *Divine Light* in my Conscience, gradually Discovered to me to be what I ought to cease from, shun, and stand a witness against.

But so subtilly, and withal so powerfully, did the Enemy work upon the weak Part in me, as to perswade me that, in these things, I ought to make a Difference between my Father and all other Men ; And that therefore, though I did disuse these Tokens of Respect to others, yet I ought still to use them towards him, as he was my Father. And so far did this Wile of his prevail upon me, through a Fear lest I should do amiss in withdrawing any sort of Respect or Honour from my Father which was due unto him, that being thereby beguiled, I continued for a while to demean myself in the same manner towards him, with respect both to *Language* and *Gesture*, as I had always done before. And so long as I did so (standing Bare before him, and giving him the accustomed Language), he did not express (whatever he thought) any Dislike of me.

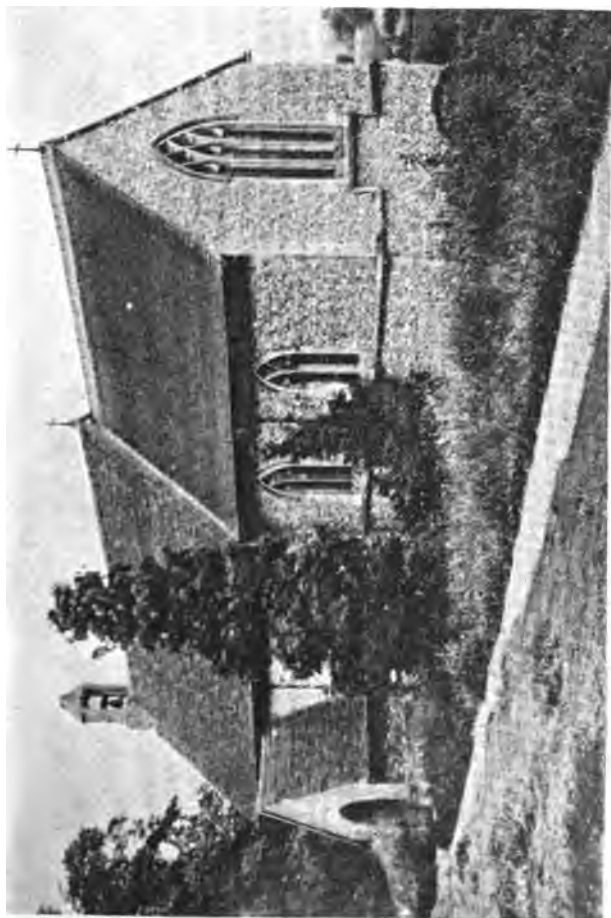
But as to myself and the Work begun in me, I found it was not enough for me to *Cease to do Evil*, though that was a good and a great Step. I had another Lesson before me, which was, *To learn to do well :*

which I could by no means do till I had given up with full Purpose of Mind to *Cease from doing Evil*. And when I had done that, the Enemy took Advantage of my Weakness to mislead me again.

For whereas I ought to have waited in the Light, for Direction and Guidance into and in the way of *Well-Doing*, and not to have moved till the *Divine Spirit* (a manifestation of which the Lord has been pleased to give unto me, for me to profit with, or by) : the Enemy, transforming himself into the Appearance of an Angel of Light, offered himself, in that Appearance, to be my Guide and Leader into the Performance of *Religious Exercises*. And I, not then knowing the Wiles of Satan, and being eager to be doing some acceptable Service to God, too readily yielded my self to the Conduct of my Enemy, instead of my Friend.

He thereupon, humouring the Warmth and Zeal of my Spirit, put me upon Religious Performances, *in my own Will, in my own Time, and in my own Strength* ; which in themselves were good, and would have been profitable unto me, and acceptable unto the Lord, if they had been performed in *His will, in His time* and in the *Ability* which *He gives*. But being wrought in the Will of Man, and at the prompting of the *Evil One*, no wonder that it did me Hurt, instead of Good.

I read abundantly in the BIBLE, and would set my self Tasks in Reading, injoyning my self to Read so many Chapters, sometimes a whole Book or long Epistle, at a time. And I thought



CROWELL CHURCH.

that time well spent, though I was not much the wiser for what I had Read ; reading it too cursorily, and without the true Guide, the *Holy Spirit*, which alone could open the Understanding and give the true Sense of what was Read.

I prayed often, and drew out my Prayers to a great length, and appointed unto myself certain set Times to Pray at, and a certain Number of Prayers to say in a Day : yet knew not, mean while what true Prayer was. Which stands not in Words (though the Words which are uttered in the *Movings of the Holy Spirit* are very available), but in the Breathing of the Soul to the Heavenly Father, through the Operation of the *Holy Spirit*, who maketh *Intercession* sometimes in Words and sometimes with Sighs and Groans only, which the Lord vouchsafes to hear and Answer.

This *Will-Worship* (which all is that is performed in the Will of Man, and not in the Movings of the *Holy Spirit*) was a great Hurt to me, and Hindrance of my Spiritual Growth in the Way of Truth. But my Heavenly Father, who knew the Sincerity of my Soul to Him, and the hearty Desire I had to Serve Him, had Compassion on me ; and in due time was graciously pleased to *Illuminate* my Understanding farther, and to open in me an Eye to discern the *False Spirit*, and its way of Working, from the *True* : and to reject the former and cleave to the latter.

But though the enemy had by his subtilty gain'd such Advantages over me, yet I went on

notwithstanding, and firmly persisted in my Godly Resolution of ceasing from and denying those things which I was now Convinced in my Conscience were Evil. And on this Account a great Trial came quickly on me. For the *General Quarter-Sessions* for the Peace coming on, my Father (willing to excuse himself from a dirty journey), commanded me to get up betimes and go to *Oxford*, and deliver in the *Recognizances* he had taken ; and bring him an Account what Justices were on the Bench, and what principal Pleas were before 'em ; which he knew I knew how to do, having often attended him on those Services.

I (who knew how it stood with me better than he did), felt a Weight come over me, as soon as he had spoken the Word. For I presently saw it would bring a very great exercise upon me. But having never resisted his Will in anything that was lawful (as this was), I attempted not to make any excuse, but, ordering an Horse to be ready for me early in the Morning, I went to Bed, having great Struglings in my Breast.

For the Enemy came in upon me like a Flood, and set many Difficulties before me, swelling them up to the highest Pitch, by representing them as Mountains which I should never be able to get over : And, alas ! that *Faith* which could remove such Mountains, and cast them into the Sea, was but very small and weak in me.

He cast into my Mind not only how I should behave my self in Court, and dispatch the

Business I was sent about, but how I should demean my self towards my Acquaintance (of which I had many in that City), with whom I was wont to be Jolly : whereas now I could not put off my Hat, nor Bow to any of them, nor give them their honorary Titles (as they are called), nor use the corrupt Language of *You* to any one of them ; but must keep to the plain and true Language of *Thou* and *Thee*.

Much of this Nature revolved in my Mind, thrown in by the Enemy to discourage and cast me down. And I had none to have recourse to, for counsel or help, but the Lord alone. To whom therefore I poured forth my Supplications, with earnest Cries and Breathings of Soul, that HE, in whom all power was, would enable me to go through this great Exercise, and keep me faithful to Himself therein. And after some time, he was pleased to compose my Mind to stillness, and I went to rest.

Early next Morning I got up, and found my Spirit pretty calm and quiet, yet not without a fear upon me lest I should slip and let fall the Testimony which I had to bear. And as I rode, a frequent cry ran through me to the Lord, in this wise : *O my God, Preserve me faithful, whatever befalls me ! Suffer me not to be drawn into Evil, how much Scorn and Contempt soever may be cast upon me.*

Thus was my Spirit exercised on the way almost continually. And when I was come within a Mile or two of the City, whom should I meet upon the Way, coming from thence, but *Edward Burrough* ! I rode in a Mountier-

cap* (a dress more used then than now), and so did he; and because the Weather was exceedingly sharp, we both had drawn our Caps down, to shelter our Faces from the Cold, and by that means neither of us knew the other, but passed by without taking notice one of the other; till a few Days after, meeting again, and observing each other's Dress, we recollected where we had so lately met. Then thought I with my self, *O! How glad should I have been of a Word of Encouragement and Counsel from him, when I was under that weighty Exercise of Mind!* But the Lord saw it was not good for me: that my Reliance might be wholly upon him, and not on Man.

When I had set up my Horse, I went directly to the Hall where the Sessions were held, where I had been but a very little while, before a Knot of my old Acquaintances, espying me, came to me. One of these was a Scholar in his Gown, another a Surgeon of that City (both my School-Fellows and Fellow-Boarders at *Thame School*), and the Third a Country Gentleman with whom I had long been very Familiar.

When they were come up to me, they all

* This appears to have been a cap of Spanish origin, combining conditions that admirably adapted it to the needs of both huntsmen and sailors. It was manifestly a cap giving both warmth and protection to head and ears—and possibly the neck—which would fit tightly and be held closely and securely. Johnson, in his Dictionary, quoting Bacon, "His hat was like a helm or Spanish Montero," gives a spelling that is alike the oldest and the most recent. See *A Quaker of the Olden Time*, p. 490-1..

saluted me, after the usual manner, pulling off their Hats and Bowing, and saying, *Your Humble Servant, sir* : expecting, no doubt, the like from me. But when they saw me stand still, not moving my Cap, nor bowing my Knee in way of *Congée** to them, they were amazed, and looked first one upon another, then upon me, and then upon one another again, for a while, without a Word speaking.

At length the Surgeon (a brisk young Man), who stood nearest to me, clapping his Hand in a Familiar way upon my Shoulder, and smiling on me, said, *What ! Tom ! a Quaker !* To which I readily and cheerfully Answered, *Yes : A Quaker*. And as the Words passed out of my Mouth I felt Joy spring in my Heart : for I rejoiced that I had not been drawn out by them into a Compliance with them, and that I had Strength and Boldness given me to Confess my self to be one of that despised People.

They stayed not long with me, nor said any more (that I remember), to me : but looking somewhat confusedly one upon another, after a while took their Leave of me, going off in the same ceremonious Manner as they came on.

After they were gone, I walked a while about the Hall, and went up nearer to the Court, to observe both what Justices were on the Bench and what Business they had before them.

* *Congée*—a ceremonious greeting, originally implying a parting salutation, but afterwards used of one at meeting also. The knee was slightly bent, and the foot drawn back along the ground. Hence the old expression, "bowing and scraping."

And I went in Fear (not of what they could or would have done to me, if they should have taken notice of me, but) lest I should be surprized, and drawn unwarily into that which I was to keep out of.

It was not long before the Court adjourned, to go to Dinner : And that time I took to go to the *Clerk of the Peace*, at his House, whom I was well acquainted with. So soon as I came into the room where he was, he came and met me, and saluted me after his manner : for he had a great Respect for my Father, and a kind Regard for me. And tho' he was at first somewhat startled at my Carriage and Language : yet he treated me very civilly, without any Reflection or show of Lightness. I delivered him the *Recognizances* which my Father had sent, and having done the Business I came upon, withdrew : and went to my inn to refresh my self, and then to return home.

But when I was ready to take Horse, looking out into the Street, I saw two or three Justices standing just in the Way where I was to ride. This brought a fresh Concern upon me : I knew, if they saw me, they would know me : And I concluded, if they knew me, they would stop me and enquire after my Father ; and I doubted how I should come off with them.

This Doubting brought Weakness on me, and that Weakness led to Contrivance, how I might avoid this Trial. I knew the City pretty well, and remembered there was a back Way, which, though somewhat about, would bring me out of Town without passing by those

Justices : Yet loth I was to go that Way. Wherefore I staid a pretty time, in hopes they would have parted Company, or removed to some other Place, out of my Way. But when I had waited until I was uneasie for losing so much time, having entered into Reasonings with Flesh and Blood, the Weakness prevailed over me, and away I went the back Way, which brought Trouble and Grief upon my Spirit for having shunned the Cross.

But the Lord looked on me with a tender Eye, and seeing my Heart was right to him, and that what I had done was meerly through Weakness and Fear of Falling, and that I was sensible of my Failing therein, and sorry for it, he was graciously pleased to pass it by, and speak Peace to me again. So that before I got home, as when I went in the Morning, my Heart was full of Breathing Prayer to the Lord, that he would vouchsafe to be with me, and uphold and carry me through that Days Exercise : So now at my Return in the Evening, my Heart was full of thankful Acknowledgments and Praises unto Him for his great Goodness and Favour to me, in having thus far preserved and kept me from falling into anything that might have brought dishonour to his Holy Name, which I had now taken on me.

But notwithstanding that it was thus with me, and that I found Peace and Acceptance with the Lord in some good degree, according to my Obedience to the Convictions I had received by His *Holy Spirit* in me : yet was not the vail so done away, or fully rent, but that

there still remained a Cloud upon my Understanding with respect to my Carriage towards my Father. And that Notion, which the Enemy had brought into my Mind, That *I ought to put such a Difference between him and all others as that, on the Account of Paternal Relation, I should still deport myself towards him, both in Gesture and Language, as I had always heretofore done*, did yet prevail with me. So that when I came home, I went to my Father bare-headed, as I used to do, and gave him a particular Account of the Business he had given me in Command, in such manner that he, observing no Alteration in my Carriage towards him, found no Cause to take Offence at me.

I had felt for some time before, an earnest Desire of Mind to go again to *Isaac Penington's*. And I began to question whether, when my Father should come (as I concluded e're long he would) to understand I enclined to settle among the People called *Quakers*, he would permit me the Command of his Horses, as before. Wherefore, in the Morning when I went to *Oxford* I gave Direction to a Servant of his to go that Day to a Gentleman of my Acquaintance (who I knew had a Riding Nag to put off, either by Sale or to be kept for his Work); and desire him, in my Name, to send him to me; which he did, and I found him in the Stable when I came home.

On this Nag I designed to ride next Day to *Isaac Penington's*: and in order thereunto, arose betimes and got myself ready for the

Journey. But because I would pay all due Respects to my Father, and not go without his Consent, or knowledge at the least, I sent one up to him (for he was not yet stirring), to acquaint him that I had a Purpose to go to *Isaac Penington's*, and desired to know if he pleased to Command me any Service to them. He sent me Word *He would speak with me before I went, and would have me come up to him* : which I did, and stood by his Bedside.

Then, in a mild and gentle Tone, he said : *I understand you have a mind to go to Mr. Penington's*. I answered, I have so. *Why*, said he, *I wonder why you should*. *You were there, you know, but a few days ago ; and unless you had business with them, don't you think it will look oddly ?* I said, I thought not. *I doubt*, said he, *You'll tire them with your Company, and make them think they shall be troubled with you*. If, replied I, I find any thing of that, I'll make the shorter Stay. *But*, said he, *can you propose any sort of Business with them, more than a meer Visit ?* Yes, said I, I propose to my self not only to see them, but to have some Discourse with them. *Why*, said he (in a Tone a little harsher), *I hope you don't encline to be of their way*. Truly, answered I, I like them and their Way very well ; so far as I yet understand it : and I am willing to Go to them that I may understand it better.

Thereupon he began to reckon up a Bead-Roll of Faults against the *Quakers* ; Telling me *They were a rude, unmannerly People, that would not give Civil Respect or Honour to their*

*Superiors, no not to Magistrates: That they held many dangerous Principles: That they were an immodest, shameless People; and that one of them stript himself stark-naked, and went in that unseemly manner about the Streets, at Fairs and on Market-days, in great Towns.**

To all the other Charges I answered only, That perhaps they might be either misreported, or misunderstood, as the best of People had sometimes been. But to the last Charge of *Going Naked*, a particular Answer, by way of Instance, was just then brought into my Mind and put into my Mouth, which I had not thought of before, and that was the Example of *Isaiah*, who went *naked* among the People for a long time (Isa. 20. 4). *Aye*, said my Father, *but*

* The Friend referred to was probably William Sympson, of whom Fox says in his "Journal" (i. 502) that he "was moved of the Lord to go, several times for three years, naked and barefoot before them, as a sign unto them, in markets, courts, towns, cities, to priests' and great men's houses, telling them, 'So should they be stripped naked as he was stripped.'" Fox also mentions a Friend who "went naked through the town, declaring truth" at Skipton (i. 469). The word "naked" was used sometimes, it is true, in the sense "divested of the upper garments," but the way in which Fox speaks of Sympson receiving "sore whipping with horse-whips and coach-whips on his bare body," and of the Mayor of Cambridge "putting his gown about him," suggests something more like the action of Solomon Eccles, who was probably the Quaker whom Pepys saw pass naked through Westminster Hall on July 29th, 1667, "only very civilly tied about the loins to avoid scandal, and with a chafing dish of fire and brimstone burning upon his head, crying 'Repent! Repent!'"

you must consider that He was a Prophet of the Lord and had an express Command from God to Go so. Yes Sir, replied I, I do consider that : but I consider also, that the *Jews*, among whom he lived, did not own him for a Prophet, nor believe that he had such a Command from God. And, added I, how know we but that this *Quaker* may be a Prophet too, and might be commanded to do as he did, for some Reason which we understand not.

This put my Father to a stand ; so that, letting fall his Charges against the *Quakers*, he only said, *I would wish you not to go so soon ; but take a little time to consider of it : you may Visit Mr. Penington hereafter.* Nay, Sir, replied I, Pray don't hinder my going now : for I have so strong a Desire to go, that I do not well know how to forbear. And as I spake those Words, I withdrew gently to the Chamber-Door, and then hastening down Stairs, went immediately to the Stable : where finding my Horse ready Bridled, I forthwith mounted, and went off ; lest I should receive a Countermand.

This Discourse with my Father had cast me somewhat back in my Journey, and it being Fifteen long Miles thither, the Ways bad, and my Nag but small, it was in the Afternoon that I got thither. And understanding by the Servant that took my Horse that there was then a Meeting in the House (as there was Weekly on that Day, which was the *Fourth Day* of the Week, though till then I understood it not), I hastened in, and knowing the Rooms,

went directly to the *Little Parlour*, where I found a few Friends sitting together in Silence : and I sat down among them well satisfied, though without Words.

When the Meeting was ended, and those of the Company who were Strangers withdrawn, I addressed my self to *Isaac Penington* and his Wife, who received me courteously : but not knowing what Exercise I had been, and yet was, under, nor having heard anything of me since I had been there before in another Garb, were not forward at first to lay suddain Hands on me ; which I observed, and did not dislike. But as they came to see a Change in me, not in Habit only, but in Gesture, Speech, and Carriage, and, which was more, in Countenance also (for the Exercise I had passed through, and yet was under, had imprinted a visible Character of Gravity upon my Face), they were exceedingly kind and tender towards me.

There was then in the Family a Friend, whose name was *Anne Curtis* (the wife of *Thomas Curtis* of *Reading**), who was come upon a Visit to them, and particularly to see *Mary Penington's* Daughter Guli, who had been ill of the *Small pox* since I had been there before. Betwixt *Mary Penington* and this *Friend* I observed some private Discourse and Whisperings, and I had an Apprehension that it was upon something that concerned me. Wherefore I took the Freedom to ask *Mary Penington* if my coming thither had occasioned any Inconvenience

* See Appendix : Biographical Notes.

in the Family ? She asked me if I had had the *small-Pox* ? I told her no. She then told me, *Her daughter had newly had them, and though she was well recovered of them, she had not as yet been down amongst them : but intended to have come down and sate with them in the Parlour that Evening, yet would rather forbear till another time, than Endanger me.* And that *that was the matter they had been discoursing of.* I assured her that I had always been, and then more especially was, free from any Apprehension of Danger in that respect : and therefore entreated that her Daughter might come down. And although they were somewhat unwilling to yield to it, in regard to me, yet my Importunity prevailed, and after Supper she did come down and sit with us : and though the Marks of the Distemper were fresh upon her, yet they made no impression upon me ; Faith keeping out Fear.

We spent much of the Evening in Retiredness of Mind, our Spirits being weightily gathered inward, so that not much Discourse passed among us ; neither they to me, nor I to them offered any Occasion. Yet I had good Satisfaction in that Stillness, feeling my Spirit drawn near to the Lord, and to them therein.

Before I went to Bed they let me know that there was to be a Meeting at *Wiccomb* next Day, and that some of the Family would go to it. I was very glad of it, for I greatly desired to go to Meetings, and this fell very aptly, it being in my way home. Next Morning *Isaac Penington* himself went, having *Anne Curtis* with him, and I accompanied them.

At *Wiccomb*, we met with *Edward Burrough*, who came from *Oxford* thither, that Day that I, going thither, met him on the Way: and having both our *Montier-Caps* on, we recollected that we had met, and passed by each other on the Road unknown.

This was a Monthly Meeting, consisting of *Friends* chiefly, who gathered to it from several Parts of the Country thereabouts, so that it was pretty large, and was held in a fair Room in *Jeremiah Steevens's** House; the Room where I had been at a Meeting before, in *John Raunce's* House, being too little to receive us.

A very good Meeting was this in it self and to me. *Edward Burrough's* Ministry came forth among us in Life and Power, and the Assembly was covered therewith. I also, according to my small Capacity, had a share therein; for I felt some of that Divine Power working my Spirit into a great Tenderness, and not only Confirming me in the Course I had already entred, and strengthening me to go on therein; but rending also the vail somewhat further, and Clearing my Understanding in some other things, which I had not seen before. For the Lord was pleased to make his Discoveries to me by degrees, that the Sight of too great a

* The Steevens family were for several generations leading members of the Society of Friends in Wycombe, and at a somewhat later date than this inhabited the ancient "White House" in High Street. The old oak table at which Jeremiah Steevens entertained Ellwood, Penn and others of the early Friends is still preserved.—*Jordans and the Chalfonts*.

Work, and too many Enemies to encounter with at once, might not discourage me and make me faint.

When the Meeting was ended, the *Friends* of the Town taking notice that I was the Man that had been at their Meeting the Week before, whom they then did not know, some of them came and spake lovingly to me, and would have had me staid with them : but *Edward Burrough* going home with *Isaac Penington*, he invited me to go back with him, which I willingly consented to. For the Love I had more particularly to *Edward Burrough*, through whose Ministry I had received the first awakening Stroke, drew me to desire his Company ; and so away we rode together.

But I was somewhat disappointed of my Expectation : for I hoped he would have given me both Opportunity and Encouragement to have poured forth my Complaints, Fears, Doubts, and Questionings into his bosom. But he, being sensible that I was truly reach'd, and that the *Witness* of GOD was raised and the *Work* of GOD rightly begun in me, chose to leave me to the *Guidance of the good Spirit in my self* (the *Counsellor* that could resolve all Doubts), that I might not have any Dependence on Man. Wherefore, although he was naturally of an open and free Temper and Carriage, and was afterwards always very familiar and affectionately kind to me, yet at this time he kept himself somewhat reserved, and showed only common Kindness to me.

Next Day we parted. He for *London* : I for

home, under a very great Weight and Exercise upon my spirit. For I now saw, *in* and *by* the farther *Openings* of the DIVINE LIGHT in me, that the Enemy, by his *false Reasonings*, had *beguiled* and *mised* me, with respect to my *carriage* towards my *Father*. For I now clearly saw, That the *Honour* due to PARENTS did not consist in *Uncovering the Head* and *Bowing the Body* to them ; but in a *ready Obedience* to their *lawful Commands*, and in performing all *needful Services* unto them. Wherefore, as I was greatly troubled for what I already had done, in that case, tho' it was through Ignorance : so I plainly felt I could no longer continue therein without drawing on my self the Guilt of *wilful Disobedience*, which I well knew would draw after it *Divine Displeasure* and *Judgment*.

Hereupon the Enemy assaulted me afresh, setting before me the *Danger* I should run my self into, of provoking my Father to use Severity towards me ; and perhaps to the casting me utterly off. But over this *Temptation* the Lord, who I cried unto, supported me, and gave me Faith to believe that he would bear me through whatever might befall me on that account. Wherefore I resolved, in the Strength which he should give me, to be faithful to his *Requirings*, whatever might come of it.

Thus labouring under various Exercises on the way, I at length got home, expecting I should have but a rough Reception from my Father. But when I came home, I understood my Father was from home. Wherefore I sate down by the Fire in the Kitchen keeping my

Mind retired to the Lord, with Breathings of Spirit to Him that I might be preserved from Falling.

After some time I heard the Coach drive in, which put me into a little Fear, and a sort of Shivering came over me. But by that time he was alighted and come in I had pretty well recovered myself ; and as soon as I saw him I rose up and advanced a step or two towards him, with my Head covered, and said, *Isaac Penington* and his Wife remember their Loves to thee.

He made a Stop, to hear what I said, and observing that I did not stand bare, and that I used the Word [*Thee*] to him, He, with a stern Countenance, and Tone that spake high Displeasure, only said, *I shall talk with you, Sir, another time* : and so hastening from me, went into the Parlour, and I saw him no more that Night.

Though I foresaw there was a Storm arising, the Apprehension of which was uneasie to me : yet the Peace which I felt in my own Breast raised in me a Return of Thanksgiving to the Lord for his gracious supporting Hand, which had thus far carried me through this Exercise : with humble Cries in Spirit to Him, that He would vouchsafe to stand by me in it to the End, and uphold me, that I might not fall.

My Spirit longed to be among *Friends*, and to be at some Meeting with them on the *First Day*, which now drew on ; this being the *Sixth-Day* Night. Wherefore I purposed to go to *Oxford* on the Morrow (which was the *Seventh*

Day of the Week), having heard there was a Meeting there. Accordingly, having ordered my Horse to be made ready betimes, I got up in the Morning and made my self ready also. Yet before I would go (that I might be as observant to my Father as possibly I could), I desired my Sister to go up to him in his Chamber, and acquaint him that I had a Mind to go to *Oxford* ; and desired to know if he pleased to command me any Service there. He bid her tell me, *He would not have me go till he had spoken with me.* And getting up immediately, he hastened down to me, before he was quite dressed.

As soon as he saw me standing with my Hat on, his Passion transporting him, he fell upon me with both his Fists ; and having by that means somewhat vented his Anger, he plucked off my Hat, and threw it away. Then stepping hastily out to the Stable, and seeing my borrowed Nag stand ready Saddled and Bridled, he asked his Man *Whence that Horse came ?* who telling him he fetch't it from Mr.—such an One's : *Then ride him presently back,* said my Father, *and tell Mr. — I desire he will never lend my Son a Horse again, unless he brings a Note from me.*

The poor Fellow, who loved me well, would fain have made Excuses and Delays ; but my Father was positive in his Command, and so urgent, that he would not let him stay so much as to take his Breakfast (though he had Five Miles to ride), nor would he himself stir from the Stable till he had seen the Man Mounted and gone.

Then coming in, he went up into his Chamber,



TOWN HALL AND MARKET, HIGH WYCOMBE.

to make himself more fully ready, thinking he had me safe enough now my Horse was gone : for I took so much delight in Riding that I seldom went on Foot.

But while he was dressing himself in his Chamber, I (who understood what had been done), changing Boots for Shoes, took another Hat, and acquainting my Sister (who loved me very well, and whom I could confide in), whither I meant to go, went out privately, and walked away to Wiccomb, having Seven long Miles thither : which yet seem'd little and easy to me, from the Desire I had to be among Friends.

As thus I travelled all alone, under a Load of Grief, from the Sense I had of the Opposition and Hardship I was to expect from my Father, the Enemy took Advantage to assault me again, Casting a Doubt into my Mind, *Whether I had done well, in thus coming away from my Father, without his Leave or Knowledge?*

I was quiet and peaceable in my spirit before this Question was darted into me ; but after that, Disturbance and Trouble seized upon me : so that I was at a stand what to do ; whether to go forward or backward. *Fear* of *Offending* inclined me to go back ; but *Desire* of the *Meeting*, and to be with *Friends*, pressed me to go forward.

I stood still a while to consider and weigh as well as I could the Matter. I was sensibly satisfied that I had not left my Father with any Intention of *Undutifulness*, or *Disrespect* to him, but merely in *Obedience* to that *Drawing of Spirit*, which I was perswaded was of the

LORD, to join with *His People* in *Worshipping Him* : and this made me easie.

But then the Enemy, to make me uneasie again, objected, *But how could that Drawing be of the LORD which drew me to disobey my Father ?*

I considered thereupon the Extent of *Paternal Power*, which I found was not wholly *Arbitrary* and *Unlimited*, but had Bounds set unto it. So that as in *Civil Matters* it was restrained to *Things Lawful* : so in *Spiritual* and *Religious Cases*, it had not a *compulsory Power* over CONSCIENCE, which ought to be *Subject* to the *Heavenly Father*. And therefore, though *Obedience to Parents* be enjoined to *Children*, yet it is with this Limitation [IN THE LORD] : *Children, Obey your Parents in the Lord : for this is right*, Eph. 6. 1.

This turned the Scale for going forward, and so on I went. And yet I was not wholly free from some *Fluctuations of Mind*, from the *Besettings of the Enemy*. Wherefore, although I knew that *Outward Signs* did not properly belong to the *Gospel Dispensation* : yet for my better Assurance I did, in Fear and great Humility, beseech the Lord that He would be pleased so far to condescend to the Weakness of his Servant, as to give me a Sign, by which I might certainly know whether my Way was right before Him or not.

The Sign which I asked was, *That if I had done wrong in Coming as I did, I might be Rejected, or but coldly Received, at the Place I was going to : but if this mine Undertaking was right*

in his Sight, he would give me Favour with them I went to; so that they should receive me with hearty Kindness and Demonstrations of Love. Accordingly, when I came to *John Rance's* House (which, being so much a Stranger to all, I chose to go to, because I understood the Meeting was commonly held there), they received me with more than ordinary Kindness, especially *Frances Rance* (*John Rance's* then Wife), who was both a grave and motherly Woman, and had a hearty Love to Truth, and Tenderness towards all that in sincerity sought after it. And this so kind Reception, confirming me in the Belief that my Undertaking was *approved of by the LORD*, gave great Satisfaction and Ease to my Mind; and I was thankful to the Lord therefore.

Thus it fared with me there: but at home it fared otherwise with my Father. He, supposing I had betaken my self to my Chamber, when he took my Hat from me, made no Enquiry after me till Evening came; and then, sitting by the Fire, and considering that the Weather was very cold, he said to my Sister, who sate by him, *Go up to your Brother's Chamber, and call him down: it may be he will sit there else, in a sullen fit, till he has caught Cold.* Alas! Sir, said she, *He is not in his chamber, nor in the House neither.* At that my Father, startling, said, *Why, where is he then? I know not, Sir,* said she, *where he is: but I know that, when he saw you had sent away his Horse, he put on Shoos, and went out on Foot, and I have not seen him since.* And indeed, Sir, added she,

I don't wonder at his Going away, considering how you used him. This put my Father into a great Fright, doubting I was gone quite away : and so great a Passion of Grief seized on him, that he forebore not to weep, and to cry out aloud (so that the Family heard him) *Oh ! my Son ! I shall never see him more ! For he is of so bold and resolute a Spirit, that he will run himself into Danger, and so may be thrown into some Gaol or other, where he may lie and die before I can hear of him.* Then bidding her light him up to his Chamber, he went immediately to Bed, where he lay restless and Groaning, and often bemoaning himself and me, for the greater Part of the Night.

Next Morning my Sister sent a Man (whom for his love to me she knew she could trust), to give me this Account : and tho' by him she sent me also fresh Linnen for my Use, in case I should go farther, or stay out longer, yet she desired me to come home as soon as I could.

This Account was very uneasy to me. I was much grieved that I had occasioned so much Grief to my Father. And I would have returned that Evening, after the Meeting, but the *Friends* would not permit it : for the Meeting would in likelihood end late, the Days being short, and the Way was long and dirty. And besides, *John Rance* told me that he had something on his Mind to speak to my Father ; and that if I would stay till the next Day he would go down with me : hoping, perhaps, that while my Father was under this Sorrow for me he might work some good upon him. Hereupon, con-

cluding to stay till the Morrow, I dismiss't the Man with the things he brought, bidding him tell my Sister I intended (God willing), to return home to Morrow : and charging him not to let any body else know that he had seen me, or where he had been.

Next Morning *John Rance* and I set out ; and when we were come to the End of the Town we agreed, That he should go before and knock at the great Gate ; and I would come a little after, and go in by the back Way. He did so ; and when a Servant came to open the Gate, he asked if the Justice were at home. She told him, *Yes* : and desiring him to come in and sit down in the Hall, went and acquainted her Master that there was one who desired to speak with him. He supposing it was one that came for Justice, went readily into the Hall to him. But he was not a little surprised when he found it was a *Quaker*. Yet not knowing on what account he came, he staid to hear his Business. But when he found it was about me, he fell somewhat sharply on him.

In this time I was come by the back way into the kitchen, and hearing my Father's Voice so loud, I began to doubt things wrought not well : but I was soon assured of that. For my Father having quickly enough of a *Quaker's* Company left *John Rance* in the Hall, and came into the Kitchen, where he was more surprised to find me.

The sight of my Hat upon my Head made him presently forget that I was that Son of his whom he had so lately lamented as lost ; and his Passion of Grief turning into Anger, he could

not contain himself, but running upon me with both his Hands, first violently snatch't off my Hat, and threw it away. Then giving me some Buffets on my Head, he said, *Sirrah, get you up to your Chamber.*

I forthwith went, he following me at the Heels, and now and then giving me a Whirret on the Ear : which (the way to my Chamber lying through the Hall where *John Rance* was) he, poor Man, might see, and be sorry for (as I doubt not but he was), but could not help me.

This was sure an unaccountable thing, That my Father should, but a day before, express so high a Sorrow for me, as fearing he should never see me any more : and yet now, so soon as he did see me, should fly upon me with such Violence, and that only because I did not put off my Hat, which he knew I did not put on in *Disrespect* to him, but upon a *Religious Principle*. But as this *Hat-Honour* (as it was accounted), was grown to be a great *Idol*, in those times more especially, so the Lord was pleased to engage his Servants in a steady Testimony against it, what Suffering soever was brought upon them for it. And though some who have been called into the *Lord's Vineyard* at latter Hours, and since the Heat of that Day hath been much over, may be apt to account this Testimony a *small thing* to suffer *so much* upon, as some have done, not only to *Beating*, but to *Fines*, and *long and hard Imprisonments* ; yet they who, in those times were *faithfully* Exercised *in and under* it, durst not despise the *Day of small things*, as knowing that he who

should do so, would not be thought worthy to be concerned in *higher Testimonies*.

I had now lost one of my Hats, and I had but one more. That therefore I put on, but did not keep it long : for the next time my Father saw it on my Head he tore it violently from me, and laid it up with the other, I knew not where. Wherefore I put on my *Mountier*-Cap, which was all I had left to wear on my Head, and it was but a very little while that I had that to wear : for as soon as my Father came where I was I lost that also. And now I was forced to go bare Headed wher-ever I had Occasion to go, within Doors and without.

This was in the *Eleventh Month* (called *January*), and the Weather sharp ; so that I who had been bred up more tenderly, took so great a Cold in my Head that my Face and Head were much swelled, and my Gums had on them Boils so sore that I could neither Chew Meat, nor, without Difficulty, swallow Liquids. It held long, and I underwent much Pain, without much Pity, except from my poor Sister, who did what she could to give me Ease : and at length by frequent Applications of Figs and stoned Raisins toasted, and laid to the Boils as hot as I could bear them, they ripened fit for Lancing, and soon after sunk ; then I had Ease.

Now was I laid up, as a kind of Prisoner, for the rest of the Winter, having no means to go forth among *Friends*, nor they Liberty to come to me. Wherefore I spent the time much in my Chamber, in Waiting on the LORD, and in Reading, mostly in the *Bible*.

But whenever I had occasion to speak to my Father, though I had no Hat now to offend him, yet my Language did as much : for I durst not say [YOU] to him, but THOU or THEE, as the Occasion required, and then would he be sure to fall on me with his fists.

At one of these times, I remember, when he had beaten me in that Manner, he commanded me (as he commonly did at such times), to Go to my Chamber, which I did, and he followed me to the Bottom of the Stairs. Being come thither, he gave me a parting-Blow, and in a very angry Tone said, *Sirrah, If ever I hear you say Thou or Thee to me again, I'll strike your Teeth down your Throat.* I was greatly Grieved to hear him say so. And feeling a Word rise in my Heart unto him, I turned again, and calmly said unto him, Would it not be just, if GOD should serve thee so : when thou sayst *Thou* or *Thee* to Him ? Though His hand was up, I saw it sink, and his Countenance fall, and he turned away, and left me standing there. But I, notwithstanding, went up into my Chamber, and cryed unto the LORD, earnestly beseeching Him that He would be pleased to open my Father's Eyes, that he might see whom he fought against, and for what : and that He would turn his Heart.

After this I had a pretty time of Rest and Quiet from these Disturbances, my Father not saying any thing to me, nor giving me Occasion to say any thing to him. But I was still under a kind of Confinement, unless I would have run about the Country bareheaded like a Mad-Man :

which I did not see it was my Place to do. For I found that, although to be abroad, and at Liberty among my friends, would have been more pleasant to me, yet Home was at present my proper Place, a School, in which I was to learn with *Patience to Bear the Cross* : and I willingly submitted to it.

But after some time a fresh Storm, more fierce and sharp than any before, arose and fell upon me : the Occasion whereof was this ! My Father, having been (in his younger Years, more especially while he lived in *London*), a constant Hearer of those who are called *Puritan-Preachers*, had stored up a pretty Stock of *Scripture-Knowledge*, did sometimes (not constantly, nor very often) cause his Family to come together, on a *First Day* in the Evening, and expound a Chapter to them, and Pray. His Family now, as well as his Estate, was lessen'd ; for my Mother was dead, my Brother gone, and my elder Sister at *London* : and having put off his *Husbandry*, he had put off with it most of his Servants ; so that he had now but one Man and one Maid-Servant. It so fell out that on a *First Day* Night he bade my Sister (who sate with him in the Parlour), Call *in the Servants to Prayer*.

Whether this was done as a Tryal upon me or no, I know not, but a Tryal it proved to me : For they (loving me very well, and disliking my Father's Carriage to me), made no haste to go in, but staid a second Summons. This so offended him, that when at length they did go in, he, instead of Going to *prayer*, Examined them,

Why they came not in when they were first called : and the Answer they gave him being such as rather heightned than abated his Displeasure, he, with an angry Tone, said, *Call in that Fellow* (meaning me, who was left alone in the Kitchin), *for he is the Cause of all this.* They, as they were backward to go in themselves, so were not forward to Call me in, fearing the Effect of my Father's Displeasure would fall upon me ; as soon it did : for I, hearing what was said, and not staying for the Call, went in of my self. And as soon as I was come in, my Father discharged his Displeasure on me in very sharp and bitter Expressions ; which drew from me (in the Grief of my Heart, to see him so transported with Passion), these few words ; *They that can Pray with such a Spirit, Let 'em : for my part, I cannot.* With that my Father flew upon me with both his Fists, and not thinking that sufficient, step't hastily to the place where his Cane stood : and catching that up, laid on me (I thought) with all his Strength. And I, being bare-headed, thought his Blows must needs have broken my Scull had I not laid mine Arm over my Head to defend it.

His Man, seeing this, and not able to contain himself, step't in between us, and laying hold on the Cane, by Strength of Hand held it so fast, that though he attempted not to take it away, yet he with-held my Father from striking with it : which did but enrage him the more. I disliked this in the Man, and bade him let go the Cane and be gone : which he immediately did, and turning to be gone, had a Blow on his

Shoulders for his pains, which did not much hurt him.

But now my Sister, fearing lest my Father should fall upon me again, besought him to forbear : adding, *Indeed, Sir, if you strike him any more, I will throw open the Casement and cry Murther, for I am afraid you will kill my Brother.* This stop't his Hand, and after some Threatning Speeches, he commanded me to *Get to my Chamber :* which I did ; as I always did whenever he bid me.

Thither, soon after, my Sister followed me, to see my Arm and dress it, for it was indeed very much bruised and swelled, between the Wrist and the Elbow, and in some places the Skin was broken and beaten off. But though it was very sore, and I felt for some time much Pain in it : yet I had Peace and Quietness in my Mind, being more grieved for my Father than for my self, who I knew had hurt himself more than me.

This was (so far as I remember), the last time that ever my Father called his Family to *Prayer.* And this was also the last time that he ever fell, so severely at least, upon me.

Soon after this my elder Sister (who in all the time of these Exercises of mine had been at *London*), returned home, much troubled to find me a *Quaker*, a Name of Reproach and great Contempt then : and she, being at *London*, had received, I suppose, the worst Character of them. Yet, though she disliked the People, her affectionate Regard for me made her rather pity than despise me, and the more

when she understood what hard usage I had met with.

The rest of the Winter I spent in a lonesome solitary Life, having none to Converse with, none to unbosom my self unto, none to ask Counsel of, none to seek Relief from, but the LORD alone who yet was more than All. And yet the Company and Society of Faithful and Judicious *Friends* would (I thought), have been very welcome, as well as helpful to me in my Spiritual Travel : in which I thought I made slow Progress, my Soul breathing after further Attainments ; The Sence of which drew from me the following Lines :

*The Winter Tree
Resembles me
Whose Sap lies in its Root ;
The Spring draws nigh,
As it, so I
Shall bud, I hope, and shoot.*

At length it pleased the LORD to move *Isaac Penington* and his Wife to make a Visit to my Father, and see how it fared with me. And very welcome they were to me, whatever they were to him ; to whom I doubt not but they would have been more welcome had it not been for me.

They tarried with us all Night, and much Discourse they had with my Father, both about the Principle of TRUTH in general, and me in particular : which I was not privy to. But one thing, I remember, I afterwards heard of, which was this :

When my Father and I were at their House some Months before, *Mary Penington*, in some Discourse between them, had told him how hardly her Husband's Father (Alderman *Penington*) had dealt with him about his *Hat* : which my Father (little then thinking that it would, and so soon too, be his own Case), did very much Censure the Alderman for : wondering that so Wise a Man as he was should take Notice of such a trivial Thing as the *Putting off* or *keeping on a Hat* ; and he spared not to blame him liberally for it.

This gave her a Handle to take hold of him by. And having had an ancient Acquaintance with him, and he having always had a high Opinion of and Respect for her : she, who was a Woman of great Wisdom, of ready Speech, and of a well-resolved Spirit, did press so close upon him with this Home Argument, that he was utterly to seek, and at a loss how to defend himself.

After Dinner next Day, when they were ready to take Coach to return home, she desired my Father that, since my Company was so little acceptable to him, he would give me leave to Go and spend some time with them, where I should be sure to be welcome.

He was very unwilling I should go, and made many objections against it : all which she Answered and removed so clearly, that not finding what Excuse further to alledge, he at length left it to me, and I soon turned the Scale for Going.

We were come to the Coach-side before this

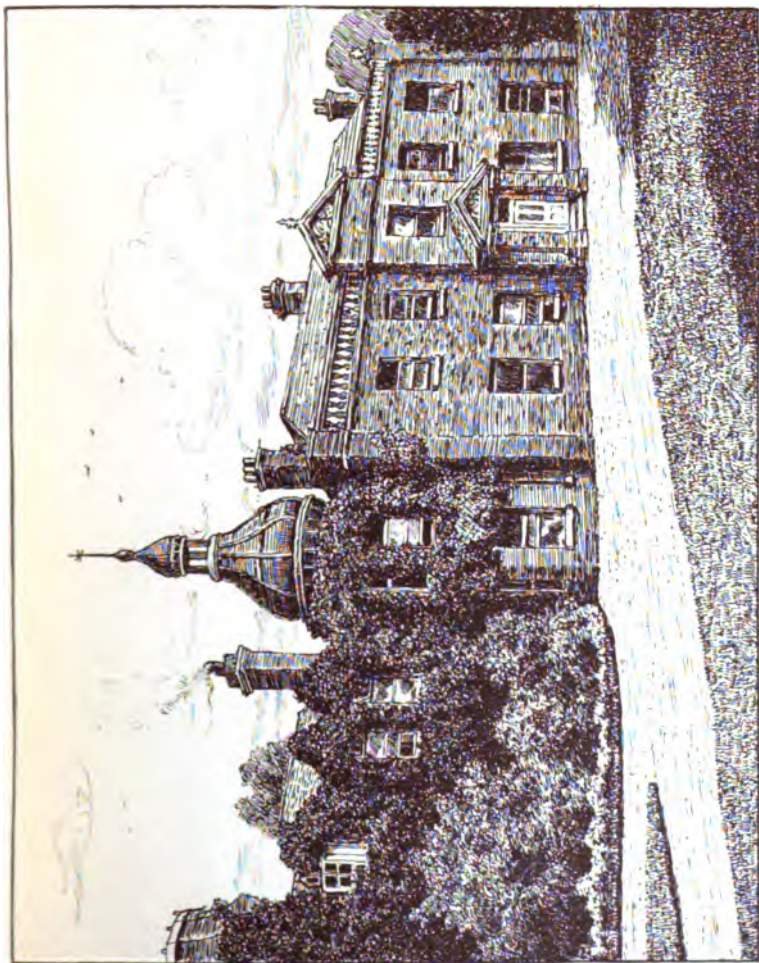
was concluded on, and I was ready to step in, when one of my Sisters privately put my Father in Mind that I had never a Hat on. That somewhat startled him : for he did not think it fit I should go from home (and that so far and to stay abroad), without a Hat. Wherefore he whispered to her to fetch me a Hat, and he entertained them with some Discourse in the meantime. But as soon as he saw the Hat coming, he would not stay till it came, lest I should put it on before him, but breaking off his Discourse abruptly, took his leave of them, and hastened in before the Hat was brought to me.

I had not one Penny of Money about me, nor indeed elsewhere. For my Father, so soon as he saw that I would be a *Quaker*, took from me both what Money I had and everything of Value, or that would have made Money, as some Plate, Buttons, Rings, &c., pretending that he would keep them for me till I came to myself again, lest I, in the meantime, should destroy them.

But as I had no Money, so being among my Friends I had no need of any, nor ever honed* after it : though once, upon a particular Occasion I had like to have wanted it. The Case was this.

I had been at *Reading*, and set out from thence on the First Day of the Week, in the Morning, intending to reach (as, in point of time, I well might), to *Isaac Penington's*, where the Meeting

* Longed, or hankered.



CHALFONT GRANGE.

The present Mansion, which has been almost entirely rebuilt since the Peningtons owned the Estate.

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was to be that day : but when I came to *Maidenhead* (a thorough-Fair Town on the Way), I was stop't by the Watch for Riding on that Day.

The Watchman, laying hold on the Bridle, told me *I must go with him to the Constable* : and accordingly I, making no Resistance, suffered him to lead my Horse to the Constable's Door. When we were come there, the Constable told me, *I must go before the Warden* (who was the chief Officer of that Town),* and bid the Watchman bring me on, himself walking before.

Being come to the Warden's Door, the Constable knock't, and desired to speak with Mr. *Warden*. He thereupon quickly coming to the Door, the Constable said, *Sir, I have brought a Man here to you whom the Watch took riding through the town*. The Warden was a budget old Man ; and I looked somewhat big too, having a good Gelding under me, and a good Riding Coat on my Back, both which my Friend *Isaac Penington* had kindly accommodated me with for that Journey.

The Warden therefore taking me to be (as the Saying is), *Somebody*, put off his Hat, and made a low *Congee* to me ; but when he saw that I sate still, and neither bowed to him nor moved my Hat, he gave a start, and said to the con-

* The principal official of the town at this time was known as the warden of Maidenhead Bridge. The town, which is partly in the parish of Cookham, and partly in that of Bray, seems to have sprung up at a comparatively late date at this important point on the great western road.

† Pompons, important-looking.

stable, *You said you had brought a Man, but he don't behave himself like a man.*

I sat still upon my Horse and said not a Word, but kept my Mind retired to the Lord, waiting to see what this would come to.

The Warden then began to Examine me, Asking me *whence I came?* and *whither I was going?* I told him I came from *Reading* and was Going to *Chalfont*. He asked me *Why I did travel on that Day?* I told him I did not know that it would give any Offence barely to Ride or to Walk on that Day, so long as I did not Carry or Drive any Carriage or Horses laden with Burthens. *Why,* said he, *if your Business was urgent, did you not take a Pass from the Mayor of Reading?* Because, replied I, I did not know, nor think I should have needed one. *Well,* said he, *I will not talk with you now, because it is time to Go to Church, but I will examine you further anon.* And turning to the Constable, *Have him,* said he, *to an inn, and bring him before me after Dinner.*

The Naming of an Inn put me in Mind that such publick Houses were places of Expence, and I knew I had no Money to defray it. Wherefore I said to the Warden, Before thou sendest me to an Inn, which may occasion some expence, I think it needful to acquaint thee that I have no Money.

At that the Warden startled again, and turning quick upon me, said, *How! No Money! How can that be? You don't look like a Man that has no Money.* However I look, said I, I tell thee the Truth, that I have no Money:

and I tell it to forewarn thee, that thou mayst not bring any Charge upon the Town. *I wonder, said he, what Art you have got, that you can Travel without Money: you can do more, I assure you, than I can.*

I making no Answer, he went on and said, *Well, well! but if you have no money, you have a good Horse under you, and we can distrain him for the Charge.* But, said I, the Horse is not mine. No, said he, *But you have a good Coat on your Back; and that I hope is your own.* No, said I, but it is not: for I borrowed both the Horse and the Coat.

With that the Warden, holding up his Hands and smiling, said, *Bless me! I never met with such a Man as you are before! What! were you set out by the Parish?* Then turning to the Constable, he said, *Have him to the Gray-hound,* and bid the People be civil to him.* Accordingly, to the *Gray-hound* I was led; my Horse set up, and I put into a large Room: and some Account I suppose, given of me to the People of the House.

This was new Work to me; and what the Issue of it would be I could not foresee: but being left there alone, I sate down, and retired in Spirit to the Lord (in whom alone my Strength and Safety was), and beg'd Support of Him;

* The Grey-hound Inn was destroyed by fire in 1736, when it was described by the newspapers of the day as one of the finest in England. It was here that Charles I. had the memorable meeting with his children, while the stern Cromwell stood by, looking on with an unwonted relenting at what he afterwards described as "the tenderest sight he ever beheld."—*Jordans and the Chalfonts.*

even that he would be pleased to give me Wisdom and Words to Answer the Warden, when I should come to be Examined again before him.

After some time having Pen, Ink and Paper about me, I set my self to write what I thought might be proper, if Occasion served, to give the Warden. And while I was writing, the Master of the House, being come home from his Worship, sent the Tapster to me, to invite me to dine with him. I bid him tell his Master that I had not any Money to pay for my Dinner. He sent the Man again to tell me, *I should be welcome to dine with him, though I had no Money.* I desired him to tell his Master that I was very sensible of his Civility and Kindness, in so courteously inviting me to his Table, but I had not Freedom to eat of his Meat, unless I could have paid for it. So he went on with his Dinner, and I with my Writing.

But before I had finished what was on my Mind to write, the Constable came again, bringing with him his Fellow-Constable. This was a brisk, genteel young Man, a Shopkeeper in the Town, whose Name was *Cherry*. They saluted me very Civilly, and told me they were come to have me before the Warden. This put an End to my Writing, which I put into my Pocket, and went along with them.

Being come to the Warden's, He asked me again the same questions he had asked me before : To which I gave him the like answers. Then he told me the Penalty I had incurred, which he said was either to pay so much Money

or lye so many Hours in the Stocks : and asked me which I would chuse ; I reply'd, I shall not chuse either. And, said I, I have told thee already that I have no Money : tho' if I had, I could not so far Acknowledge my self an Offender as to pay any. But as to lying in the Stocks, I am in thy Power, to do unto me what it shall please the Lord to suffer thee.

When he heard that, he paused awhile ; and then told me, *He considered that I was but a young Man, and might not, perhaps, understand the danger I had brought my self into, and therefore he would not use the Severity of the Law upon me ; but, in hopes that I would be wiser hereafter, he would pass by this offence and discharge me.*

Then putting on a Countenance of the greatest Gravity, he said to me : *But, young Man, I would have you know, That you have not only broken the Law of the Land but the Law of God also : and therefore you ought to ask Him Forgiveness ; for you have highly offended Him.* That, said I, I would most willingly do, if I were sensible that in this Case, I had offended Him, by breaking any Law of His. *Why,* said he, *do you question that?* Yes truly, said I : for I do not know that any Law of God doth forbid me to Ride on this Day.

No ! said he, *that's strange ! Where, I wonder, was you bred ? You can read : Can't you ?* Yes, said I, that I can. *Don't you read then,* said he, *the commandment.* Remember the Sabbath Day to keep it holy. Six Days shalt thou labour and do all thy Work ; but the

Seventh Day is the Sabbath of the Lord thy God ; in it thou shalt not do any Work. Yes, replied I, I have both read it often, and remember it very well. But that Command was given to the Jews, not to *Christians* : and this is not that Day : for that was the Seventh Day ; but this is the First. *How !* said he, *Do you know the Days of the Week no better ? you had need then be better taught.*

Here the younger Constable (whose Name was *Cherry*), interposing, said, *Mr. Warden, the Gentleman is in the right as to that : for this is the First Day of the Week, and not the Seventh.*

This the old Warden took in *dudgeon*, and looking severely on the Constable, said : *What ! do you take upon you to teach me ! I'll have you know I will not be taught by you. As you please for that, Sir,* said the Constable ; *but I am sure you are mistaken in this Point : for Saturday, I know, is the Seventh Day, and you know Yesterday was Saturday.*

This made the Warden Hot and testy, and put him almost out of all Patience : so that I fear'd it would have come to a downright Quarrel betwixt them : for both were confident, and neither would yield. And so earnestly were they engaged in the Contest, that there was no room for me to put in a Word between them.

At length the old Man, having talk't himself out of Wind, stood still a while, as it were to take Breath, and then bethinking himself of me, he turn'd to me and said, *You are discharged, and may take your liberty to go about your Occasions.* But, said I, I desire my Horse may be

discharged too, else I know not how to go. *Ay, ay*, said he, *you shall have your Horse*: and turning to the other Constable (who had not offended him), he said, *Go, see that his Horse be delivered to him*.

Away thereupon went I with that Constable, leaving the old Warden and the Young Constable to compose their Difference, as they could. Being come to the Inn, the Constable called for my Horse to be brought out. Which done, I immediately mounted, and began to set forward. But the Hostler, not knowing the Condition of my Pocket, said modestly to me: *Sir, Don't you forget to pay for your Horse's standing?* No, truly, said I, I don't forget it; but I have no Money to pay it with: and so I told the Warden before. *Well, hold your Tongue*, said the Constable to the Hostler; *I'll see you paid*. Then opening the Gate, they let me out, the Constable wishing me a good Journey: and through the town I rode, without further Molestation; though it was as much Sabbath (I thought), when I went out as it was when I came in.

A secret Joy arose in me, as I rode on the Way, for that I had been preserved from Doing or Saying any thing, which might give the Adversaries of Truth Advantage against it, or the *Friends* of it: and Praises sprang in my thankful Heart to the Lord, my Preserver.

It added also not a little to my joy that I felt the Lord near unto me, by His Witness in my Heart, to Check and Warn; and my Spirit was so far subjected to Him as readily to take

warning, and stop at His Check. An instance of both that very morning I had.

For as I rode between *Reading* and *Maidenhead*, I saw lying in my way the Scabbard of a Hanger, which, having lost its Hook, had slipt off, I suppose, and drop't from the Side of the Wearer : and it had in it a pair of Knives, whose Hafts being inlaid with Silver, seemed to be of some value. I alighted and took it up, and clapping it between my Thigh and the Saddle, rode on a little way ; but I quickly found it too heavy for me, and the Reprover in me soon began to Check. The Word arose in me, *What hast thou to do with that ? Doth it belong to thee ?* I felt I had done amiss in Taking it : wherefore I turned back to the Place where it lay, and laid it down where I found it. And when afterwards I was stop't and seized on at *Maidenhead* I saw there was a Providence in not bringing it with me : which, if it should have been found (as it needs must), under my Coat when I came to be Unhorsed, might have raised some evil Suspicion or sinister thoughts concerning me.

The Stop I met with at *Maidenhead* had spent me so much time, that when I came to *Isaac Penington's*, the Meeting there was half over ; Which gave them occasion after Meeting to enquire of me, If any thing had befallen me on the Way, which had caused me to come so late. Whereupon I related to them what Exercise I had met with, and how the Lord had helped me through it : Which when they had heard, they Rejoyced with me, and for my sake.

Great was the Love and manifold the Kindnesses which I received from these my worthy friends (*Isaac and Mary Penington*), while I abode in their Family. They were indeed as affectionate Parents and tender Nurses to me in this time of my *Religious Childhood*. For besides their weighty and seasonable Counsels, and Exemplary Conversations, they furnished me with Means to go to the other Meetings of Friends in that Country, when the Meeting was not in their own House. And indeed, the time I staid with them was so well spent, that it not only yielded great Satisfaction to my Mind, but turned in good Measure to my spiritual Advantage in the TRUTH.

But that I might not, on the one hand, bear too hard upon my friends; nor, on the other hand, forget the House of Thralldom; after I had staid with them some Six or Seven Weeks (from the Time called *Easter* to the Time called *Whitsuntide*), I took my leave of them to depart home, intending to walk to Wiccomb in one Day, and from thence home in another.

That Day that I came Home I did not see my Father, not until Noon the next Day, when I went into the Parlour, where he was, to take my usual Place at Dinner.

As soon as I came in, I observed by my Father's Countenance that my Hat was still an Offence to him: but when I was sitten down, and before I had eaten any thing, he made me understand it more fully by saying to me (but in a milder tone than he had formerly used to speak to me in), *If you cannot content*

yourself to come to Dinner without your Hive on your Head (so he called my Hat), pray Rise, and go take your Dinner somewhere else.

Upon these Words I arose from the Table, and leaving the Room went into the Kitchen, where I staid till the Servants went to Dinner, and then sate down very contentedly with them. Yet I suppose my Father might intend that I should have gone into some other Room, and there have eaten by my self. But I chose rather to Eat with the Servants, and did so from thenceforward so long as he and I lived together. And from this time he rather chose, as I thought, to avoid seeing me, than to renew the Quarrel about my Hat.

My Sisters, mean while observing my Wariness in Words and Behaviour, and being satisfied, I suppose, that I acted upon a *Principle of Religion and Conscience*, carried themselves very kindly to me, and did what they could to mitigate my Father's Displeasure against me. So that I now enjoyed much more quiet at Home, and took more liberty to go Abroad amongst my Friends, than I had done (or could do), before. And having informed my self where any Meetings of *Friends* were holden within a reasonable Distance from me, I resorted to them.

At first I went to a Town called *Haddenham*,* in *Buckinghamshire*, Five Miles from my Father's, where, at the house of one *Belson*, a few (who were called *Quakers*) did meet sometimes on a

* Gibbs in his *History of Aylesbury* mentions a Quakers' burying ground here.

First Day of the Week : but I found little Satisfaction there. Afterwards, upon further Enquiry, I understood there was a settled Meeting at a little Village called *Meadle* (about Four long Miles from me), in the House of one *John White** (which is continued there still) : and to that thenceforward I constantly went, while I abode in that Country, and was able. Many a sore Days Travel have I had thither and back again, being commonly in the Winter time (how fair soever the Weather was over head), wet up to the Ancles at least : yet, through the Goodness of the Lord to me, I was preserved in Health.

A little Meeting also there was, on the Fourth Day of the Week; at a Town called *Bledlow* (two Miles from me), in the House of one *Thomas Saunders,†* who *Professed* the Truth; But his

* John White's house at Meadle is still standing (1905) and remained in possession of his family till within the last century. A meeting-house was afterwards erected close by, and has since been demolished ; and traces of a burying-ground may be seen in the adjoining orchard. John White was a steadfast witness for Friends' principles. Besse states that at the suit of Timothy Hall, " Priest of Monks Resborough," for tithes amounting to £21 2s., goods to the value of £92 were taken from him.—*Jordans and the Chalfonts*.

† In a " return of conventicles " made by order of Archbishop Sheldon, in 1669, and preserved at Lambeth Palace (Tenison MSS. 639) mention is made of a meeting " att ye house of Thomas Saunders every Wedensday," at Ilmer. Whether Saunders had moved in the meantime from Bledlow to Ilmer, or whether the house lay on the confines of the two parishes can only be conjectured.—*Jordans and the Chalfonts*.

Wife, whose Name was *Damaris*, did Possess it (she being a Woman of great Sincerity and lively Sense), and to that meeting also I usually went.

But though I took this liberty for the Service of GOD, that I might Worship Him in the assemblies of His People, yet did I not use it upon other Occasions, but spent my Time, on other Days, for the most part in my Chamber, in Retiredness of Mind, waiting on the LORD. And the LORD was graciously pleased to visit me, by his quickening *Spirit* and *Life*, so that I came to feel the *Operation of His Power* in my Heart, working out that which was contrary to his Will, and giving me, in measure, Dominion over it.

And as my Spirit was kept in due Subjection to this *Divine Power*, I grew into a nearer Acquaintance with the LORD ; and the LORD vouchsafed to speak unto me, in the inward of my Soul, and to open my Understanding in his Fear, to receive *Counsel* from Him ; so that I not only, at some times, heard his Voice, but could distinguish his Voice from the Voice of the Enemy.

As thus I daily waited on the LORD a weighty and unusual Exercise came upon me, which bowed my Spirit very low before the LORD. I had seen, in the *Light of the Lord*, the horrible Guilt of those deceitful *PRIESTS*, of divers Sorts and Denominations, who made a *Trade* of PREACHING, and for *filthy Lucre* sake held the People *always Learning* ; yet so taught them as that, by their *Teaching* and *Ministry*, they

were never able *to come to the Knowledge* (much less to the Acknowledgment) *of the Truth* : For as they themselves hated the *Light*, because their own *Deeds were Evil*, so by *Reviling, Reproaching, and Blaspheming* the TRUE LIGHT, (*wherewith every Man that cometh into the World is Enlightened*, John i. 9), they begat in the People a Dis-esteem of the *Light*, and laboured (as much as in them lay), to keep their Hearers in the Darkness, that they might not be turned to the *Light in themselves*, lest by the *Light* they should discover the *Wickedness* of these their *Deceitful Teachers*, and turn from them.

Against this Practice of these *false Teachers* the *Zeal* of the LORD had flamed in my Breast for some time : And now the Burthen of the Word of the LORD against them fell heavy upon me, with Command to proclaim His Controversie against them.

Fain would I have been excused from this Service, which I judged too heavy for me : Wherefore I besought the Lord to take this Weight from off me (who was in every respect but young), and lay it upon some other of His Servants (of whom he had many), who were much more able and fit for it. But the Lord would not be entreated, but continued the Burden upon me, with greater weight ; requiring *Obedience* from me, and promising to assist me therein. Whereupon I arose from my Bed, and in the Fear and Dread of the Lord committed to Writing what He, in the motion of his *Divine Spirit*, dictated to me to write. When I had done it, though the Sharpness of

the Message therein delivered was hard to my Nature to be the Publisher, yet I found Acceptance with the Lord, in my obedience to his Will, and his Peace filled my Heart. As soon as I could I communicated to my Friends what I had written; and it was Printed in the Year 1660, in one Sheet of Paper, under the Title of *An Alarm to the PRIESTS*; or, *A Message from Heaven to Forewarn them, &c.*

Some time after the Publishing of this Paper, having Occasion to go to *London*, I went to visit *George Fox* the younger* (who with another Friend), was then a Prisoner in a *Messenger's* Hands. I had never seen him, nor he me before; yet this Paper lying on the Table before him, he (pointing to it), asked me, *If I was the Person that writ it?* I told him I was. *It's much* (said the other Friend), *that they bear it. It is* (replied he) *their Portion, and they must bear it.*

While I was then in *London* I went to a little Meeting of *Friends*, which was then held in the house of one *Humphry Bache*,† a Goldsmith, at the Sign of the *Snail*, in *Tower Street*. It was then a very troublesome Time, not from the Government but from the Rabble of Boys and

* See Appendix: Biographical Notes.

† Evidently the same Friend as mentioned in *First Publishers*, p. 166, as *Humphrey Bates*. He is also mentioned by *Besse* in 1662 as one of seven *London Friends* who were imprisoned and "had their bodies so weakened and corrupted through sickness contracted there, that they died soon after their discharge." (*Sufferings*, vol. i., p. 392).

rude People, who upon the Turn of the Times (at the Return of the King), took Liberty to be very abusive.

When the Meeting ended, a pretty Number of these unruly Folk were got together at the Door, ready to receive the *Friends*, as they came forth, not only with evil Words, but with Blows ; which I saw they bestowed freely on some of them that were gone out before me, and expected I should have my Share of when I came amongst them. But, quite contrary to my Expectation, when I came out, they said one to another, *Let him alone ; Don't meddle with him : he is no Quaker, I'll warrant you.*

This struck me, and was worse to me than if they had laid their Fists on me, as they did on others. I was troubled to think what the Matter was, or what these rude People saw in me that made them not take me for a *Quaker*. And upon a close Examination of my self, with respect to my Habit and Deportment, I could not find anything to place it on, but that I had then on my Head a large *Mountier Cap* of Black Velvet, the Skirt of which being turned up in Folds, looked (it seems), somewhat above the then common Garb of a *Quaker* : and this put me out of Conceit with my Cap.

I came at this time to *London* from *Isaac Penington's*, and thither I went again, in my way Home ; and while I staid there, amongst other Friends who came thither *Thomas Low** of *Oxford*, was one. A faithful and diligent

* Spelt *Los* elsewhere. See Appendix : Biographical Notes.

Labourer he was, in the Work of the Lord, and an excellent Ministerial Gift he had. And I, in my Zeal for TRUTH, being very desirous that my Neighbours might have the Opportunity of hearing the Gospel, the glad Tidings of Salvation, livingly and powerfully preached among them, entered into Communication with him about it; offering to procure some convenient Place in the Town where I lived for a Meeting to be held, and to invite my Neighbours to it, if he could give me any Ground to expect his Company at it. He told me *he was not at his own Command, but at the Lord's, and he knew not how he might dispose of him; but wished me, if I found when I was come home that the thing continued with weight upon my Mind, and that I could get a fit Place for a Meeting, I would advertize him of it by a few Lines directed to him in Oxford (whither he was then going), and he might then let me know how his Freedom stood in that Matter.*

When therefore I was come home, and had treated with a Neighbour for a Place to have a Meeting in, I wrote to my Friend *Thomas Low*, to acquaint him that I had procured a Place for a Meeting, and would invite Company to it, if he would fix the time, and give me some ground to hope that he would be at it.

This Letter I sent by a Neighbour to *Thame*, to be given to a Dyer of *Oxford*, who constantly kept *Thame-Market*, with whom I was pretty well acquainted, having sometimes formerly used him, not only in his way of Trade, but to carry Letters between my Brother and me when

he was a *Student* in that *University* : for which he was always paid ; and had been so careful in the Delivery that our Letters had always gone safe until now. But this time (*Providence* so ordering, or at least for my Tryal permitting it), this Letter of mine, instead of being delivered according to its Direction, was seized and carried (as I was told), to the Lord *Faulkland*, who was then called *Lord-Lieutenant* of that County.

The Occasion of this Stopping of Letters at that time was that mad Prank of those infatuated *Fifth-Monarchy-Men*, who from their Meeting-House in *Coleman-Street, London*, breaking forth in Arms (under the Command of their Chieftain *Venner*), made an Insurrection in the City, on Pretence of setting up the *Kingdom of Jesus*, who (it is said) they expected would come down from Heaven to be their Leader, So little understood they the *Nature of his Kingdom*, though he himself had declared it was not of this World.

The King, a little before his Arrival in *England*, had by his *Declaration* from *Breda* given Assurance of Liberty to *Tender Consciences*, and that no Man should be disquieted, or called in Question, for *Differences of Opinion* in Matters of *Religion* which do not *disturb the Peace of the Kingdom*. Upon this Assurance *Dissenters* of all sorts relied, and held themselves secure. But now, by this Frantick Action of a few hot-brain'd Men, the King was by some holden discharged from his ROYAL WORD and PROMISE, in his foregoing *Declaration* publicly given. And hereupon Letters were intercepted and broken

open, for Discovery of suspected *Plots* and *Designs* against the Government: and not only Dissenters Meetings of all sorts, without Distinction, were disturbed, but very many were Imprisoned, in most Parts, throughout the Nation, and great Search there was in all Countries, for suspected Persons, who, if not found at Meetings, were fetch'd in from their own Houses.

The *Lord Lieutenant* (so called), of *Oxfordshire* had on this Occasion taken *Thomas Loe*, and many others of our Friends, at a Meeting, and sent them Prisoners to *Oxford-Castle*, just before my Letter was brought to his Hand, wherein I had invited *Thomas Loe* to a Meeting: and he, putting the worst Construction upon it, as if I (a poor simple Lad), had intended a *sedition* Meeting, in order to raise *Rebellion*, order'd two of the *Deputy Lieutenants* who lived nearest to me to send a Party of Horse to fetch me in.

Accordingly, while I (wholly ignorant of what had passed at *Oxford*), was in daily Expectation of an agreeable Answer to my Letter, came a Party of Horse one Morning to my Father's Gate, and asked for me.

It so fell out that my Father was at that time from Home (I think in *London*); whereupon he that Commanded the Party alighted and came in. My eldest Sister, hearing the Noise of Soldiers, came hastily up into my Chamber, and told me there were Soldiers below, who inquired for me. I forthwith went down to them, and found the Commander was a *Barber* of *Thame*, and one who had always been my

Barber till I was a *Quaker*. His Name was *Whately*, a bold, brisk Fellow.

I asked him what his Business was with me ? He told me I must go with him. I demanded to see his Warrant : He laid his Hand on his Sword, and said, *That was his Warrant*. I told him, Though that was not a legal Warrant, yet I would not dispute it, but was ready to bear Injuries. He told me, *He could not help it ; he was commanded to bring me forthwith before the Deputy Lieutenants :* and therefore desired me to order a Horse to be got ready, because he was in haste. I let him know I had no Horse of my own, and would not meddle with any of my Father's Horses, in his Absence especially : and that therefore, if he would have me with him, he must carry me as he could.

He thereupon taking my Sister aside, told her he found I was resolute, and his Orders were peremtory : wherefore he desired that she would give Order for a Horse to be made ready for me, for otherwise he should be forced to mount me behind a Trooper, which would be very unsuitable for me, and which he was very unwilling to do. She thereupon ordered an Horse to be got ready, upon which, when I had taken leave of my Sisters, I mounted, and went off, not knowing whither he intended to carry me.

He had Orders, it seems, to take some others also, in a Neighbouring Village, whose Names he had, but their Houses he did not know. Wherefore, as we rode, he asked me, If I knew such and such Men (whom he named), and where they lived : and when he understood that I

knew them, he desired me to show him their houses. No, said I, I scorn to be an Informer against my Neighbours, to bring them into Trouble. He thereupon, riding to and fro, found by Enquiry most of their Houses ; but, as it happened, found none of them at Home ; at which I was glad.

At length he brought me to the House of one called Esquire Clark,* of *Weston*, by *Thame*, who, being afterwards Knighted, was called Sir *John Clark* ; a jolly Man, too much addicted to drinking in *soberer* Times, but was now grown more *Licencious* that way, as the Times did now more favour *Debauchery*. He and I had known one another for some Years, though not very intimately, having met sometimes at the Lord *Wenman's* Table.

This *Clark* was one of the Deputy-Lieutenants whom I was to be brought before. And he had gotten another thither, to joyn with him in tendering me the Oaths, whom I knew only by Name and Character : he was called Esquire *Knowls*, of *Grays*, by *Henly*, and reputed a Man of better Morals than the other.

I was brought into the Hall, and kept there. And as *Quakers* were not so common then as they now are (and indeed even yet, the more is the pity, they are not common in that part of the Country),

* Squire Clark's house at Weston was an old mansion, with two wings at right angles to the main building. All has disappeared, excepting one wing, which is now used as a farm house, and a curious circular garden, enclosed by a high wall, and probably of a little later date than Ellwood's time.

I was made a Spectacle and Gazing-stock to the Family, and by divers I was diversly set upon. Some spake to me courteously, with Appearance of Compassion ; Others ruggedly, with evident tokens of Wrath and Scorn. But though I gave them the Hearing of what they said (which I could not well avoid), yet I said little to them : but keeping my Mind as well retired as I could, I breathed to the Lord for Help and Strength from him, to bear me up and carry me through this Tryal, that I might not sink under it, or be prevailed on by any Means, fair or foul, to do any thing that might dishonour or displease my GOD.

At length came forth the Justices themselves (for so they were, as well as Lieutenants), and after they had saluted me, they discoursed with me pretty familiarly : and though *Clark* would sometimes be a little jocular and waggish (which was somewhat natural to him), yet *Knowls* treated me very civilly, not seeming to take any Offence at my not standing bare before him. And when a young Priest (who, as I understood, was Chaplain in the Family), took upon him pragmatically to reprove me for standing with my Hat on before the Magistrates, and snatch'd my Cap from off my Head, *Knowls*, in a pleasant Manner, corrected him, telling him that he mistook himself in taking a Cap for a Hat (for mine was a *Mountier*-Cap), and bid him give it me again ; which he (though unwillingly) doing, I forthwith put it on my Head again, and thenceforwards none meddled with me about it.

Then they began to Examine me, putting divers Questions to me relating to the present

Disturbances in the Nation, occasioned by the late foolish Insurrection of those frantick *Fifth-Monarchy-Men*. To all which I readily Answered, according to the Simplicity of my Heart and Innocency of my Hands : for I had neither done nor thought any Evil against the Government.

But they endeavoured to affright me with Threats of Danger, telling me (with *Innuendo's*), that for all my Pretence of Innocency there was high Matter against me, which, if I would stand out, would be brought forth, and that under my own hand. I knew not what they meant by this : but I knew my Innocency, and kept to it.

At length, when they saw I regarded not their Threats in general, they asked me, *If I knew one Thomas Loe, and had written of late to him.* I then remembered my Letter, which till then I had not thought of, and thereupon frankly told them, That I did both know *Thomas Loe* and had lately written to him : but that as I knew I had written no Hurt, so I did not fear any Danger from that Letter. They shook their Heads, and said, *It was dangerous to Write Letters to appoint Meetings in such troublesome Times.*

They added, *That by appointing a Meeting, and endeavouring to gather a Concourse of People together, in such a Juncture especially as this was, I had rendered my self a dangerous Person. And therefore they could do no less than Tender me the Oaths of Allegiance and Supremacy : which therefore they required me to take.*

I told them, If I could take an Oath at all, I would take the Oath of *Allegiance* : for I owed *Allegiance* to the KING. But I durst not take any Oath, because my Lord and Master, JESUS CHRIST, had commanded me not to *Swear at all* ; and if I brake his command I should thereby both dishonour and displease him.

Hereupon they undertook to reason with me, and used many Words to perswade me, That *that Command of Christ related only to common and profane Swearing, not to Swearing before a Magistrate*. I heard them, and saw the Weakness of their Arguings, but did not return them any Answer : for I found my present Business was not to dispute, but to suffer ; and that it was not safe for me (in this my weak and childish State especially), to enter into Reasonings with sharp, quick, witty, and learned Men, lest I might thereby hurt both the Cause of Truth (which I was to bear Witness to), and my self. Therefore I chose rather to be a Fool, and let them triumph over me, than by my Weakness give them Advantage to triumph over the truth. And my spirit being closely exercised in a deep Travel towards the Lord, I earnestly begged of him that he would be pleased to keep me faithful to the Testimony he had committed to me, and not suffer me to be taken in any of the Snares which the Enemy laid for me. And, blessed be his holy Name, He heard my Cries, and preserved me out of them.

When the Justices saw they could not bow me to their Wills, they told me they must send me to Prison. I told them I was contented to

suffer whatsoever the Lord should suffer them to inflict upon me. Whereupon they withdrew into the Parlour, to consult together what to do with me, leaving me mean while to be gazed on in the Hall.

After a pretty long Stay they came forth to me again, with great shew of Kindness, telling me, They were *very unwilling to send me to goal, but would be as favourable to me as they could : and that if I would take the Oaths, they would pass by all the other Matter which they had against me.* I told them I knew they could not justly have any thing against me, for I had neither done nor intended any thing against the Government, or against them. And as to the Oaths, I assured them that my refusing them was merely Matter of Conscience to me, and that I durst not take any oath whatsoever, if it were to save my life.

When they heard this, they left me again, and went and signed a *Mittimus* to send me to Prison at *Oxford*, and charged one of the Troopers that brought me thither (who was one of the newly raised *Militia-Troop*), to convey me safe to *Oxford*. But before we departed they called the Trooper aside, and gave him private Instructions what he should do with me, which I knew nothing of till I came thither, but expected I should go directly to the Castle.

It was almost dark when we took horse, and we had about Nine or Ten Miles to ride, the Weather thick and cold (for it was about the beginning of the *Twelfth Month*), and I had no Boots, being snatch'd away from Home on a

suddain, which made me not care to ride very fast. And my guard, who was a Tradesman in *Thame*, having Confidence in me that I would not give him the slip, jogged on without heeding how I followed him.

When I was gone about a Mile on the Way I overtook my Father's Man, who (without my knowledge), had followed me at a distance to Weston, and waited there abroad in the Stables till he understood by some of the Servants that I was to go to *Oxford*; and then ran before, resolving not to leave me till he saw what they would do with me.

I would have had him Return Home, but he desired me not to send him back, but let him run on till I came to *Oxford*. I considered that it was a token of the Fellows affectionate Kindness to me, and that possibly I might send my Horse home by him: and thereupon stopping my Horse I bid him, if he would go on, get up behind me. He modestly refused, telling me, *He could run as fast as I ride*. But when I had told him, If he would not ride he should not go forward, he, rather than leave me, leap'd up behind me, and on we went.

But he was not willing I should have gone at all. He had a great Cudgel in his Hand, and a strong Arm to use it; and being a stout Fellow, he had a great mind to fight the Trooper, and Rescue me. Wherefore he desired me to turn my Horse and ride off. And if the Trooper offered to pursue, leave him to deal with him.

I check'd him sharply for that, and charged him to be quiet, and not think hardly of the poor

trooper, who could do no other nor less than he did ; and who, though he had an ill journey in going with me, carried himself civilly to me. I told him also that I had no need to fly, for I had done nothing that would bring Guilt or Fear upon me, neither did I go with an ill Will ; and this quieted the Man. So on we went, but were so far cast behind the Trooper, that we had lost both Sight and Hearing of him, and I was fain to mend my Pace to get up to him again.

We came pretty late into *Oxford* on the Seventh Day of the Week, which was the Market Day ; and, contrary to my Expectation (which was to have been carried to the Castle), my Trooper stop't in the *High-Street*, and calling at a Shop asked for the Master of the House, who coming to the Door, he delivered to him the *Mittimus*, and with it a Letter from the Deputy-Lieutenants (or one of them), which when he had read, he asked where the Prisoner was. Whereupon the Soldier pointing to me, he desired me to alight and come in, which when I did, he received me civilly.

The Trooper, being discharged of his Prisoner, marched back, and my Father's Man, seeing me settled in better quarters than he expected, mounted my Horse and went off with him.

I did not presently understand the Quality of my Keeper, but I found him a genteel courteous Man, by Trade a *Linen-Draper* ; and (as I afterwards understood), he was *City-Marshall*, had a Command in the County Troop, and was a Person of good Repute in the place ; his name was—*Galloway*.

Whether I was committed to him out of Regard to my Father, that I might not be thrust into a Common Goal, or out of a Politick Design to keep me from the Conversation of my Friends, in hopes that I might be drawn to abandon this Profession, which I had but lately taken up, I do not know. But this I know, that (though I wanted no civil Treatment, nor kind Accommodations where I was), yet after once I understood that many *Friends* were Prisoners in the Castle, and amongst the rest *Thomas Loe*, I had much rather have been among them there, with all the Inconveniences they underwent, than where I was, with the best Entertainment. But this was my present Lot, and therefore with this I endeavoured to be content.

It was quickly known in the City that a *Quaker* was brought in Prisoner, and committed to the Marshall. Whereupon (the Men *Friends* being generally Prisoners already in the Castle),* some of the Women-*Friends* came to enquire after me, and to visit me ; as *Silas Norton's* wife, and *Thomas Loe's* Wife (who were sisters), and another Woman-*Friend*, who lived in the same Street where I was, whose Husband was not a *Quaker*, but kindly affected towards them, a *Baker* by Trade, and his Name (as I remember) *Ryland*.

By some of these an Account was soon given to the *Friends* who were Prisoners in the Castle of my being taken up and brought Prisoner to

* Probably nowhere did the Quakers receive harsher treatment than at Oxford. For some description of this see *First Publishers*, p. 209, *et seq.*

the Marshall's ; Whereupon it pleased the Lord to move on the heart of my dear friend *Thomas Loe* to salute me with a very tender and affectionate Letter in the following Terms :

My Beloved FRIEND,

In the Truth and Love of the Lord Jesus, by which Life and Salvation is revealed in the Saints, is my dear Love unto thee, and in much Tenderness do I Salute thee. And, dear Heart, a Time of Tryal God hath permitted to come upon us, to try our Faith and Love to Him : and this will work for the good of them that through Patience endure to the End. And I believe God will be glorified through our Sufferings, and His Name will be exalted in the Patience and Long-suffering of his Chosen. When I heard that thou wast called into this Tryal, with the Servants of the Most High, to give thy Testimony to the Truth of what we have believed, it came into my Heart to write unto thee, and to greet thee with the Embraces of the Power of an Endless Life, where our Faith stands, and unity is felt with the Saints for ever. Well, my dear Friend, Let us live in the pure Counsel of the Lord, and dwell in his Strength, which gives us Power and Sufficiency to endure all things for his Name's sake : and then our Crown and Reward will be with the Lord for ever, and the blessings of his Heavenly Kingdom will be our Portion. Oh, dear Heart, let us give up all freely into the Will of God, that God may be glorified by us, and we comforted together

in the Lord Jesus ; which is the Desire of my Soul, who am Thy dear and loving Friend in the Eternal Truth,

THOMAS LOE.

We are more than Forty here, who suffer innocently for the Testimony of a good Conscience, because we cannot Swear, and break Christ's commands : And we are all well, and the Blessings and Presence of God is with us. Friends here Salute thee. Farewell.

The Power and the Wisdom of the Lord God be with thee, Amen.

Greatly was my Spirit refreshed and my Heart gladdened, at the Reading of this Consolating letter from my Friend : and my Soul blessed the Lord for his Love and tender Goodness to me in moving his Servant to write thus unto me.

But I had Cause soon after to double and redouble my thankful Acknowledgment to the Lord my God, who put it into the Heart of my dear friend *Isaac Penington* also to visit me with some encouraging Lines from *Alesbury-Goal*, where he was then a Prisoner ; and from whence (having heard that I was carried Prisoner to *Oxford*), he thus saluted me.

Dear THOMAS,

Great hath been the Lord's Goodness to thee in Calling thee out of that Path of Vanity and Death wherein thou wast running towards Destruction ; to give thee a living Name, and an inheritance of Life among his People : which

certainly will be the End of thy Faith in Him and Obedience to Him. And let it not be a light thing in thine Eyes that He now accounteth thee worthy to suffer among his choice Lambs, that He might make thy Crown weightier and thy Inheritance the fuller. O that that Eye and Heart may be kept open in thee which knoweth the Value of these things! And that thou mayst be kept close to the Feelings of the Life, that thou mayst be fresh in thy Spirit in the midst of thy Sufferings, and mayst reap the benefit of them; finding that pared off thereby which hindereth the Bubblings of the everlasting Springs, and maketh unfit for the breaking forth and Enjoyment of the pure Power! This is the brief Salutation of my dear Love to thee, which desireth thy Strength and Settlement in the Power, and the utter weakening of thee as to self. My dear Love is to thee, with dear Thomas Goodyare and the rest of Imprisoned Friends. I remain*

Thine in the Truth, to which the
Lord my God preserve thee
Single and Faithful.

I. P.

From Alesbury-Goal,
the 14th of the 12th mo. 1660.†

Though these Epistolary Visits in the Love of GOD were very Comfortable and Confirming to me, and my Heart was thankful to the Lord for them, yet I honed after personal Conversation

* See Appendix: Biographical Notes.

† N.S. February, 1661.

with *Friends*, and it was hard, I thought, that there should be so many faithful Servants of God so near me, yet I should not be permitted to come at them, to enjoy their Company, and reap both Pleasure and Benefit of their sweet Society.

For although my Marshall-Keeper was very kind to me, and allowed me the Liberty of his House, Yet he was not willing I should be seen abroad ; the rather, perhaps, because he understood I had been pretty well known in that City. Yet once the friendly *Baker* got him to let me step over to his House, and once (and but once), I prevailed with him to let me visit my Friends in the Castle ; but it was with these Conditions, That I should not go forth till it was dark, That I would muffle myself up in my Cloak, and that I would not stay out late. All which I punctually observed.

When I came thither, though there were many Friends Prisoners, I scarce knew one of them by Face, except *Thomas Loe*, whom I had once seen at *Isaac Penington's*. Nor did any of them know me, though they had generally heard that such a young Man as I was Convinced of the Truth, and come among Friends.

Our salutation to each other was very Grave and Solemn ; nor did we Entertain one another with much Talk, or with common Discourses ; but most of the little time I had with them was spent in a silent Retiredness of Spirit, waiting upon the Lord. Yet before we parted we imparted one to another some of the Exercises we had gone through : and they seeming willing

to understand the Ground and Manner of my Commitment, I gave them a brief Account thereof, letting *Thomas Loe* more particularly know that I had directed a Letter to him, which having fallen into the Hands of the Lord Lieutenant, was (so far as I could learn), the immediate Cause of my being taken up.

Having stayed with them as long as my limited time would permit (which I thought was but very Short), that I might keep Touch with my Keeper and come home in due time, I took leave of my Friends there, and with mutual Embraces parting, returned to my (in some Sense more easie, but in others less easie) Prison, where after this I staid not long before I was brought back to my Father's House.

For after my Father was come home (who, as I observed before, was from Home when I was taken), he applied himself to those Justices that had committed me, and (not having disoblighed them when he was in Office) easily obtained to have me sent Home, which between him and them was thus contrived.

There was about this time a general Muster and Training of the *Militia-Forces* at *Oxford*, whither, on that Occasion, came the Lord-Lieutenant and Deputy-Lieutenants of the County, of which Number they who Committed me were two.

When they had been a while together, and the Marshall with them, he stept suddainly in, and in haste told me, *I must get ready quickly to go out of Town*, and that *a Soldier would come by and by to go with me*. This said, he hastened

to them again, not giving me any Intimation how I was to go, or whither.

I needed not much time to get ready in ; but I was uneasie in thinking what the *Friends* of the town would think of this my suddain and private Removal : and I feared lest any Report should be raised that I had purchased my Liberty by an unfaithful Compliance. Wherefore I was in care how to speak with some *Friend* about it ; and that friendly Baker, whose Wife was a *Friend*, living on the other Side of the Street, at a little Distance, I went out at a back Door, intending to step over the Way to their House, and return immediately.

It so fell out, that some of the Lieutenants (of whom Esq : *Clark*, who committed me, was one), were standing in a Balcony at a great Inn or Tavern, just over the place where I was to go by : and he spying me, called out to the Soldiers (who stood thick in the Street), to stop me. They being generally Gentlemen's Servants, and many of them knowing me, did civilly forbear to lay hold on me, but calling modestly after me, said, *Stay, Sir, stay : pray come back*. I heard, but was not willing to hear, therefore rather mended my Pace, that I might have got within the Door. But he calling earnestly after me, and charging them to stop me, some of them were fain to run, and laying hold on me before I could open the Door, brought me back to my Place again.

Being thus disappointed, I took a Pen and Ink, and wrote a few Lines, which I sealed up, and gave to the Apprentice in the Shop (who

had carried himself handsomely to me), and desired him to deliver it to that *Friend* (who was their Neighbour), which he promised to do.

By that time I had done this, came the Soldier that was appointed to conduct me out of Town. I knew the Man, for he lived within a Mile of me, being, through Poverty, reduced to keep an Alehouse : but he had lived in better fashion, having kept an Inn at *Thame*, and by that means knew how to behave himself civilly, and did so to me. He told me he was ordered to wait on me to Whately,* and to tarry there at such an Inn, till Esq : *Clark* came thither, who would then take me home with him in his Coach. Accordingly to Whately we walked (which is from *Oxford* some four or five Miles), and long we had not been there before *Clark* and a great Company of Men came in.

He alighted, and staid awhile to eat and drink (though he came but from *Oxford*), and invited me to eat with him ; but I (though I had need enough), refused it ; for indeed their Conversation was a Burthen to my Life, and made me often think of and pity good *Lot*.

He seemed, at that time, to be in a sort of mix't Temper, between Pleasantness and Sourness. He would sometimes Joke (which was natural to him), and cast out a jesting Flurt at me : but he would rail maliciously against the *Quakers*. *If* (said he to me), *the King would authorize me to do it, I would not leave a Quaker alive in England, Except you. I would make no more,* added he, *to set my Pistol to their Ears,*

* Wheatley.

and shoot them through the Head, than I would to kill a dog. I told him I was sorry he had so ill an Opinion of the *Quakers*, but I was glad he had no Cause for it, and I hoped he would be of a better Mind.

I had in my Hand a little Walking-Stick with a Head on it, which he commended, and took out of my Hand to look on it : but I saw his Intention was to search it, whether it had a Tuck in it, for he tryed to have drawn the Head ; but when he found it was fast he returned it to me.

He told me *I should ride with him to his House in his Coach*, which was nothing pleasant to me ; for I had rather have gone on foot (as bad as the ways were), that I might have been out of his Company. Wherefore I took no notice of any Kindness in the Offer, but only answered I was at his Disposal, not mine own.

But when we were ready to go, the Marshall came to me, and told me, *If I pleased to I should ride his horse, and he would go in the Coach with Mr. Clark.* I was glad of the offer, and only told him, He should take out his Pistols then, for I would not ride with them. He took them out, and laid them in the Coach by him, and away we went.

It was a very fine Beast that I was set on, by much the best in the Company. But though she was very tall, yet the Ways being very foul, I found it needful, as soon as I was out of Town, to alight and take up the Stirrups. Mean while, they driving hard on, I was so far behind, that being at length missed by the Company, a Soldier was sent back to look after me.

As soon as I had fitted my Stirrups and was Remounted, I gave the Rein to my mare, which being Courageous and Nimble (and impatient of Delay), made great speed to recover the Company: And in a Narrow Passage the Soldier (who was my barber, that had fetch'd me from Home) and I met upon so brisk a Gallop, that we had enough to do, on either Side, to take up our Horses and avoid a Brush.

When we were come to *Weston*, where Esq: *Clark* lived, he took the Marshall and some others with him, into the Parlour; but I was left in the Hall, to be exposed a second time for the Family to gaze on.

At length himself came out to me, leading in his Hand a beloved Daughter of his, a young Woman of about Eighteen Years of Age, who wanted nothing to have made her Comely but Gravity. An airy Piece she was, and very Merry she made her self at me. And when they had made themselves as much sport with me as they would, the Marshall took his leave of them: and mounting me on a Horse of *Clark's* had me home to my father's that night.

Next morning, before the Marshall went away, my Father and he consulted together how to intangle me. I felt there were Snares laid, but I did not know in what manner, or to what End, till the Marshall was ready to go. And then, coming where I was, to take his leave of me, he desired me to take notice, *That although he had brought me home to my Father's House again, yet I was not discharged from my Imprisonment, but was his Prisoner still; and that he*

had committed me to the Care of my Father, to see me forth-coming whenever I should be called for. And therefore he expected I should in all things observe my Father's Orders, and not go out at any time from the House without his Leave.

Now I plainly saw the Snare, and to what End it was laid. And I asked him if this Device was not contrived to keep me from going to Meetings. He said I must not go to Meetings. Whereupon I desired him to take Notice, That I would not own my self a Prisoner to any Man while I continued here. That if he had Power to detain me Prisoner, he might take me back again with him if he would, and I should not refuse to go with him. But I bade him assure himself, that while I was at home I would take my Liberty, both to go to meetings and to visit *Friends*. He smiled, and said, *If I would be resolute he could not help it*; and so took his leave of me.

By this I perceived that the Plot was of my Father's laying, to have brought me under such an Engagement as should have ty'd me from going to Meetings: and thereupon I expected I should have a new Exercise from my Father.

It was the constant Manner of my Father to have all the Keys of the Out-doors of his House (which were Four, and those link't upon a Chain), brought up into his Chamber every Night, and fetch'd out from thence in the Morning; so that none could come in or go out in the Night without his Knowledge.

I knowing this, suspected that if I got not out before my Father came down I should be stopped

from going out at all that Day. Wherefore (the passage from my chamber lying by his Chamber-Door), I went down softly, without my Shoos, and as soon as the Maid had opened the Door I went out (though too early), and walk'd towards the Meeting at *Meadle*, four long Miles off.

I expected to have been talked with about it when I came home, but heard nothing of it ; my father resolving to watch me better next time.

This I was aware of ; and therefore on the next *First Day* I got up early, went down softly, and hid myself in a Back-Room before the Maid was stirring.

When she was up she went into my Father's Chamber for the Keys ; but he bade her leave them till he was up, and he would bring them down himself ; which he did, and tarried in the Kitchin, through which he expected I would go.

The manner was, That when the common Doors were opened, the Keys were hung upon a Pin in the Hall. While therefore my Father staid in the Kitchin, expecting my Coming, I, stepping gently out of the Room where I was, reached the Keys, and opening another Door (not often used), slipped out, and so got away.

I thought I had gone off undiscovered. But whether my Father saw me through the Window, or by what other means he knew of my going, I know not ; but I had gone but a little Way before I saw him coming after me.

The Sight of him put me to a stand in my Mind whether I should go on or stop. Had it been in

any other Case than that of Going to a Meeting, I could not in any wise have gone a Step further. But I considered, that the intent of my Father's endeavouring to stop me was to hinder me from obeying the Call of my heavenly Father, and to stop me from Going to worship Him in the Assembly of His people ; upon this I found it my Duty to go on, and observing that my Father gained Ground upon me, I somewhat mended my Pace.

This he observing, mended his Pace also, and at length Ran. Whereupon I ran also, and a fair Course we had through a large Meadow of his, which lay behind his House, and out of sight of the Town. He was not, I suppose, then above Fifty years of Age, and being light of Body and Nimble of Foot, he held me to it for a while. But afterwards slacking his Pace to take Breath, and observing that I had gotten Ground of him, he turned back and went home : and (as I afterwards understood), telling my Sisters how I had served him, he said, *Nay, if he will take so much Pains to Go, let him go if he will.* And from that time forward he never attempted to stop me, but left me to my liberty, to Go when and whither I would : Yet kept me at the usual Distance, avoiding the Sight of me as much as he could, as not able to bear the Sight of my Hat on, nor willing to contend with me again about it.

Nor was it long after this before I was left, not only to my self, but in a manner by my self. For the Time appointed for the Coronation of the KING (which was the 23rd of the 2d Month,

called *April*), drawing on, my father, taking my two Sisters with him, went up to *London* sometime before, that they might be there in readiness, and put themselves into a Condition to see that so great a Solemnity, leaving nobody in the House but my self and a couple of Servants. And though this was intended only for a Visit on that Occasion, yet it proved the Breaking up of the Family ; for he bestowed both his Daughters there in Marriage, and took Lodgings for himself, so that afterwards they never returned to settle at *Crowell*.

Being now at Liberty, I walked over to *Alesbury*, with some other Friends, to visit my dear friend *Isaac Penington*, who was still a Prisoner there. With him I found dear *John Whitehead*,* and between Sixty and Seventy more, being well nigh all the Men-Friends that were then in the County of *Bucks* ; many of them were taken out of their Houses by Armed Men, and sent to Prison (as I had been), for refusing to Swear. Most of these were thrust into an old Room behind the Goal, which had anciently been a Malt-house,† but was now so decayed that it was scarce fit for a Dog-house. And so open it lay, that the Prisoners might have gone out at pleasure. But these were purposely put there,

* See Appendix: Biographical Notes.

† " The malt house in which Penington was confined was connected with the Bear public-house in Walton Street. A few years ago it was pulled down and stabling erected by Mr. Lepper, veterinary surgeon."
—R. Gibbs, *History of Aylesbury*.

in confidence that they would not Go out, that there might be Room in the prison for others, of other Professions and Names, whom the Goaler did not trust there.

While this Imprisonment lasted (which was for some Months), I went afterwards thither sometimes to visit my suffering Brethren ; and because it was a pretty long way (some Eight or Nine long Miles), too far to be walked forward and backward in one Day, I sometimes staid a Day or two there, and lay in the Malt-house among my Friends, with whom I delighted to be.

After this Imprisonment was over, I went sometimes to *Isaac Penington's* House at *Chalfont*, to visit that Family, and the Friends thereabouts. There was then a Meeting, for the most part twice a Week in his House ; but one *First Day* in four there was a more General Meeting (which was thence called the *Monthly Meeting*) to which resorted most of the *Friends* of other adjacent Meetings ; and to that I usually went, and sometimes made some stay there.

Here I came acquainted with a Friend of *London*, whose Name was *Richard Greenaway*,* by Trade a *Taylor*, a very honest Man, and one who had received a Gift for the Ministry.

He having been formerly in other Professions of Religion, had then been acquainted with one *John Ovy*,† of *Watlington*, in *Oxfordshire* (a Man

* See Appendix : Biographical Notes.

† The house of Thomas Ovy. of Watlington, was licensed as a Presbyterian place of worship under the Declaration of Indulgence, May 22nd, 1672.

of some Note among the Professors there), and understanding, upon Enquiry, that I knew him, he had some Discourse with me about him. The Result whereof was, that he, having an Intention then shortly to visit some Meetings of Friends in this county and the adjoining Parts of *Oxfordshire* and *Berkshire*, invited me to meet him (upon notice given), and to bear him Company in that Journey: and in the way bring him to *John Ovy's* House, with whom I was well acquainted; which I did.

We were kindly received, the Man and his Wife being very glad to see both their old Friend *Richard Greenaway* and me also, whom they had been well acquainted with formerly, but had never seen me since I was a *Quaker*.

Here we tarried that Night, and in the Evening had a little meeting there with some few of *John Ovy's* People, amongst whom *R.G.* declared the TRUTH; which they attentively heard, and did not oppose, which at that time of Day we reckoned was pretty well. For many were apt to Caviel.

This Visit gave *John Ovy* an Opportunity to enquire of me after *Isaac Penington*, whose Writings (those which he had written before he came among Friends) he had Read, and had a great Esteem of, and he express'd a Desire to see him, that he might have some Discourse with him, if he knew how. Whereupon I told him that if he would take the Pains to go to his House, I would bear him Company thither, introduce him, and Engage he should have a Kind Reception.

This pleas'd him much ; and he embracing the Offer, I undertook to give him Notice of a suitable time : Which (after I had gone this little Journey with my Friend *Richard Greenaway* and was returned) I did, making Choice of the *Monthly Meeting* to go to.

We met, by Appointment at *Stoken-Church*, with our Staves in our Hands, like a couple of Pilgrims, intending to walk on Foot : and having taken some Refreshment and Rest at *Wiccomb*, went on cheerfully in the Afternoon, Entertaining each other with Grave and Religious Discourse (which made the Walk the easier), and so reached thither in good time, on the *Seventh Day* of the Week.

I gave my Friends an Account who this Person was whom I had brought to visit them, and the Ground of his Visit. He had been a Professor of Religion from his Childhood to his old Age (for he was now both Gray-headed and Elderly), and was a Teacher at this time (and had long been so) amongst a People (whether *Independents* or *Baptists* I do not well remember). And so well thought of he was, for his Zeal and Honesty, that in those late Professing Times he was thrust into the *Commission of the Peace*, and thereby lifted up on the Bench ; which neither became him nor he it. For he wanted indeed most of the Qualifications requisite for a *Justice of the Peace* : an *Estate* to defray the Charge of the Office and to bear him up in a Course of Living above Contempt : A competent Knowledge in the Laws, and a Presence of Mind or Body, or both, to keep Offenders in some Awe ;

in all which he was deficient. For he was but a *Fell-monger* by Trade, accustomed to ride upon his Pack of Skins, and had very little Estate; as little Knowledge of the Law, and of but a mean Presence and Appearance to look on. But as my Father, I suppose, was the means of getting him put into the Commission, so he, I know, did what he could to countenance him in it, and help him through it at every turn, till that turn came (at the King's Return) which turned them both out together.

My Friends received me in affectionate Kindness, and my Companion with courteous Civility. The Evening was spent in common (but grave) Conversation; for it was not a proper Season for Private Discourse, both as we were somewhat weary with our Walk, and there were other Companies of *Friends* come into the Family, to be at the Meeting next Day.

But in the Morning I took *John Ovy* into a private Walk, in a pleasant Grove near the House, whither *Isaac Penington* came to us; and there in Discourse both Answered all his Questions, Objections, and Doubts, and opened to him the Principles of *TRUTH*, to his both Admiration and present Satisfaction. Which done, we went in to take some Refreshment before the Meeting began.

Of those *Friends* who were come over Night in order to be at the Meeting, there was *Isaac's* Brother, *William Penington*, a Merchant of *London*, and with him a *Friend* (whose Name I have forgotten), a *Grocer* of *Colchester*, in

Essex: and there was also our Friend *George Whitehead*,* whom I had not (that I remember) seen before.

The Nation had been in a ferment ever since that mad Action of the Frantick Fifth-Monarchy-Men, and was not yet settled; but Storms, like Thunder-Showers, flew here and there by Coast, so that we could not promise our selves any Safety or Quiet in our Meetings. And though they had escaped Disturbance for some little time before, yet so it fell out that a Party of Horse were appointed to come and break up the Meeting that Day, though we knew nothing of it till we heard and saw them.

The Meeting was scarce fully gathered when they came. But we that were in the Family, and many others, were settled in it, in great Peace and Stillness, when on a suddain the Prancing of the Horses gave notice that Light'ning was at hand.

We all sate still in our Places, Except my Companion *John Ovy*, who sate next to me. But he being of a Profession that approved *Peter's* Advice to his Lord, *To save himself*, soon took the alarm, and with the Nimbleness of a Stripling, Cutting a Caper over the Form that stood before him, ran quickly out at a private Door (which he had before observed) which led through the Parlour into the Gardens, and from thence into an Orchard; where he hid himself in a Place so Obscure, and withal so convenient for his Intelligence by Observation

* See Appendix: Biographical Notes.

of what passed, that no one of the Family could scarce have found a likelier.

By that time he was got into his Burrow, came the Soldiers in, being a Party of the County Troop, commanded by *Matthew Archdale** of *Wiccomb*. He behaved himself civilly, and said *He was commanded to break up the Meeting, and carry the Men before a Justice of the Peace* : but he said *He would not take all* ; and there-upon began to pick and chuse, chiefly as his Eye guided him, for I suppose he knew very few.

He took *Isaac Penington* and his Brother, *George Whitehead*, and the Friend of *Colchester*, and me, with Three or Four more of the County, who belonged to that Meeting.

He was not fond of the Work, and that made him take no more. But he must take some (he said), and bid us Provide to go with him before Sir *William Bowyer* of *Denham*,† who was a Justice of the Peace. *Isaac Penington* being but weakly, rode, but the rest of us walked thither, it being about four Miles.

When we came there, the Justice carried himself civilly to us all ; courteously to *Isaac Penington*, as being a Gentleman of his *Neighbourhood* ; and there was nothing charged against us but that we were met together without Word or Deed. Yet this being contrary to a

* Mr. Summers suggests that Matthew Archdale was a relative of the John Archdale returned as the first Quaker Member of Parliament in 1698.

† Denham Court.

late *Proclamation* (given forth upon the Rising of the *Fifth - Monarchy - Men*), whereby all *Dissenters-Meetings* were forbidden, the Justice could do no less than take Notice of us.

Wherefore he Examined all of us (whom he did not Personally know), asking our Names and the Places of our respective Habitations. But when he had them, and considered from what distant Parts of the Nation we came, he was amazed. For *G. Whitehead* was of *Westmorland*, in the North of *England*; The *Grocer* was of *Essex*; I was of *Oxfordshire*: and *W. Penington* was of *London*.

Hereupon he told us, *That our case look't Ill, and he was sorry for it: for how* (said he), *can it be imagined that so many could jump altogether at one Time and Place, from such remote Quarters and Parts of the Kingdom, if it was not by Combination and Appointment?*

He was Answered, That we were so far from Coming thither by Agreement or Appointment, that none of us knew of the others Coming, and for the most of us, we had never seen one another before: and that therefore, he might impute it to *Chance*, or, if he pleased, to *Providence*.

He urged upon us, *That an Insurrection had been lately made by armed Men, who pretended to be more Religious than others; that that Insurrection had been Plotted and Contrived in their Meeting-house, where they assembled under colour of Worshipping God; that in their Meeting-House they hid their arms, and Armed themselves, and out of their Meeting House issued forth in arms*

and killed many; so that the Government could not be safe unless such Meetings were suppress.

We reply'd, We hoped he would distinguish and make a Difference between the *Guilty* and the *Innocent*, and between those who were Principled for *Fighting*, and those who were Principled *against it*, which we were, and had been always known to be so. That our Meetings were publick, our Doors standing open to all Comers, of all Ages, Sexes, and Perswasions, Men, Women, and Children, and those that were not of our Religion, as well as those that were : and that it was next to Madness for People to Plot in such Meetings.

He told us, *We must find Sureties for our good Behaviour, and to Answer our Contempt of the King's Proclamation at the next General Quarter Sessions, or else he must Commit us.*

We told him that, knowing our innocence and that we had not mis-behaved our selves, nor did meet in Contempt of the King's Authority, but purely in Obedience to the LORD's Requirements to Worship Him, which we held our selves in Duty bound to do, we could not consent to be bound, for that would imply Guilt, which we were free from.

Then, said he, *I must Commit you* : And ordered his Clerk to make a *Mittimus*. And divers *Mittimusses* were made, but none of them would hold : for still, when they came to be read, we found such Flaws in them as made him throw them aside, and write more.

He had his Eye often upon me, for I was a young Man, and had at that time a Black Suit

on. At length he bid me follow him, and went into a private Room and shut the Door upon me.

I knew not what he meant by this ; but I cried in Spirit to the Lord, that he would be pleased to be a Mouth and Wisdom to me, and keep me from being Entangled in any snare.

He asked me many Questions concerning my Birth, my Education, my Acquaintance in *Oxfordshire*, particularly what Men of Note I knew there. To all which I gave him brief but plain and true Answers, naming several Families of the best rank in that Part of the Country where I dwelt.

He asked me How long I had been of this Way, and how I came to be of it. Which when I had given him some Account of, he began to perswade me to leave it, and return to the right Way (the *Church*, as he called it). I desired him to spare his Pains in that respect, and forbear any Discourse of that kind, for that I was fully satisfied the Way I was in was the right way, and hoped the Lord would so preserve me in it that nothing should be able to draw or drive me out of it. He seemed not pleased with that, and thereupon went out to the rest of the Company, and I followed him, glad in my Heart that I had escaped so well, and praising God for my Deliverance.

When he had taken his Seat again at the upper End of a fair Hall, he told us he was not willing to take the utmost Rigour of the Law against us, but would be as favourable to us as he could. And therefore he would discharge,

he said, Mr. *Penington* himself, because he was but at Home in his own House. And he would discharge Mr. *Penington* of *London*, because he came but as a Relation to visit his Brother. And he would discharge the *Grocer* of *Colchester*, because he came to bear Mr. *Penington* of *London* Company, and to be acquainted with Mr. *Isaac Penington*, whom he had never seen before. And as for those others of us who were of this Country, he would discharge them, for the present at least, because they being his Neighbours he could send for them when he would. *But as for you* said he to *George Whitehead* and me, *I can see no Business you had there, and therefore I intend to hold you to it, either to Give Bayl or Go to Jayl.*

We told him we could not give Bayl. *Then*, said he, *you must go to Jayl*; and thereupon he began to write our *Mittimus*: which puzzled him again. For he had discharged so many, that he was at a Loss what to lay as the Ground of our Committment, whose Case differed nothing in reality from theirs whom he had discharged.

At length, having made divers Draughts (which still *G. W.* shewed him the Defects of), he seemed to be weary of us; and rising up said unto us, *I consider that it is grown late in the Day, so that the Officer cannot carry you to Alesbury to-Night, and I suppose you will be willing to go back with Mr. Penington: therefore if you will promise to be forth-coming at his House to-morrow Morning, I will dismiss you for the present, and you shall hear from me again to-morrow.*

We told him we did intend, if he did not otherwise dispose of us, to spend that Night with our Friend *Isaac Penington*, and would (if the LORD gave us leave) be there in the Morning, ready to Answer his Requirings. Whereupon he dismiss us all, willing (as we thought) to be rid of us ; for he seemed not to be of an ill Temper, nor desirous to put us to Trouble, if he could help it.

Back then we went to *Isaac Penington's*. But when we were come thither, O the work we had with poor *John Ovy* ! He was so dejected in mind, so Covered with Shame and Confusion of Face, for his Cowardliness, that we had enough to do to pacifie him towards himself.

The place he had found out to shelter himself in was so commodiously contrived, that undiscovered he could discern when the Soldiers went off with us, and understand when the Bussle was over and the Coast clear. Whereupon he adventured to peep out of his Hole, and in a while drew near, by degrees, to the House again : and finding all things quiet and still, he adventured to step within the Doors, and found the Friends who were left behind peaceably settled in the Meeting again.

The Sight of this smote him, and made him sit down among them. And after the Meeting was ended, and the Friends departed to their several Homes, addressing himself to *Mary Penington* (as the Mistress of the House) he could not enough magnifie the Bravery and Courage of the *Friends*, nor sufficiently debase himself. He told her how long he had been a

Professor, what Pains he had taken, what Hazards he had run, in his Youthful Days, to get to Meetings; how, when the Ways were forelaid and Passages stop't, he Swam through Rivers to reach a Meeting: *And now*, said he, *that I am grown old in the Profession of Religion, and have long been an Instructor and Encourager of others, that I should thus shamefully fall short my self, is matter of Shame and Sorrow to me.*

Thus he bewailed himself to her. And when we came back he renewed his Complaints of himself to us, with high Aggravations of his own Cowardice. Which gave Occasion to some of the *Friends* tenderly to represent to him the Difference between Profession and Possession, Form and Power.

He was glad, he said, *on our Behalfs, that we came off so well, and escaped Imprisonment.*

But when he understood that *G. Whitehead* and I were liable to an After-Reckoning next Morning, he was troubled, and wish't the Morning was come and gone, that we might be gone with it.

We spent the Evening in grave Conversation and in Religious Discourses, attributing the Deliverance we hitherto had to the LORD. And the next Morning, when we were up and had Eaten, we tarried some time to see what the Justice would do further with us, and to discharge our Engagement to him: the rest of the *Friends*, who were before fully discharged, tarrying also with us to see the Event.

And when we had staid so long that on all Hands it was concluded we might safely go,

G. W. and I left a few Words in Writing (to be sent to the Justice if he sent after us) importing that we had tarried till such an Hour, and not hearing from him, did now hold our selves free to depart, yet so as that if he should have Occasion to send for us again, upon Notice thereof we would Return.

This done, we took our leave of the Family, and one of another ; they who were for *London* taking Horse, and I and my Companion setting forth on Foot for *Oxfordshire*, went to *Wiccomb*, where we made a short Stay to rest and refresh our selves, and from thence reached our Respective Homes that Night.

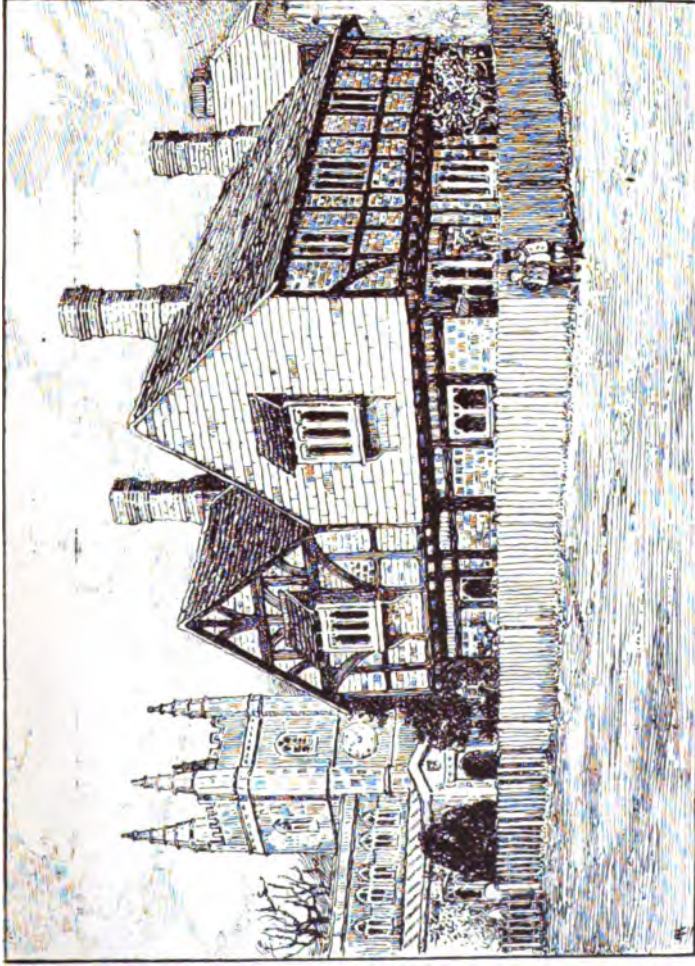
After I had spent some time at Home, where, as I had no Restraint, so (my Sisters being gone), I had now no Society, I walked up to *Chalfont* again, and spent a few Days with my Friends there.

As soon as I came in I was told that my Father had been there that Day to see Isaac Penington and his wife, but they being abroad at a Meeting, he returned to his Inn in the Town, where he intended to Lodge that Night. After Supper *Mary Penington* told me she had a Mind to go and see him at his Inn (the woman of the house being a Friend of ours), and I went with her. He seemed somewhat surprized to see me there, because he thought I had been at home at his house : but he took no notice of my Hat—at least shewed no Offence at it, for (as I afterwards understood) he had now an Intention to sell his Estate, and thought he should need my Concurrence therein, which

made him now hold it necessary to admit me again into some degree of Favour. After we had tarried some little time with him, she rising up to be gone, he waited on her home, and having spent about an Hour with us in the Family, I waited on him back to his Inn. On the way he invited me to Come up to *London* to see my Sisters, the younger of whom was then newly Married, and directed me where to find 'em, and also gave me Money to defray my Charges. Accordingly I went; yet staid not long there, but returned to my Friend Isaac Penington's, where I made a little stay, and from thence went back to *Crowell*.

When I was ready to set forth, my friend *Isaac Penington* was so kind to send a Servant with a Brace of Geldings to Carry me as far as I thought fit to ride, and to bring the Horses back. I, intending to go no farther that Day than to *Wiccomb*, rode no farther than to *Beconsfield* Town's-End, having then but Five Miles to walk. But here a new Exercise befell me, the manner of which was thus :

Before I had walked to the middle of the Town I was stop't and taken up by the Watch. I asked the Watchman What Authority he had to stop me, travelling peaceably on the High-Way. He told me he would shew me his Authority, and in order thereunto, had me into a House hard-by, where dwelt a *Scrivener* whose Name was *Pepys*. To him he gave the Order which he had received from the Constables, which directed him to take up all Rogues, Vagabonds, and sturdy Beggars. I



OLD HOUSES AND CHURCH AT BEACONSFIELD.

It was here that Ellwood was arrested when returning to Crowell. Thomas Zachary, the Quaker physician of London, had a country residence in the town.

asked him, For which of these he stopped me, but he could not Answer me.

I thereupon informed him, What a *Rogue* in Law is, viz., *One who for some notorious Offence was burnt on the Shoulder* : and I told them, They might search me if they pleased, and see if I was so branded. A *Vagabond*, I told them, was *One that had no dwelling-House nor certain place of abode* ; but I had, and was Going to it, and I told them where it was. And for a *Beggar*, I bade them bring any one that could say I had *begged* or asked *Relief*.

This stop't the Fellow's Mouth, yet he would not let me go ; but (being both weak-headed and strong-willed) he left me there with the *Scrivener*, and went out to seek the Constable, and having found him, brought him thither. He was a young Man, by Trade a *Tanner*, somewhat better mannered than his Wardsman, but not of much better judgment.

He took me with him to his House, And having settled me there, went out, to take Advice (as I supposed), what to do with me ; leaving no Body in the House to Guard me but his Wife, who had a young Child in her Arms.

She enquired of me upon what Account I was taken up, and seeming to have some Pity for me, endeavoured to persuade me not to stay, but to go my way, offering to shew me a Back way from their House, which would bring me into the Road again beyond the Town, so that none of the Town should see me or know what was become of me. But I told her I could not do so.

Then having sate a while in a muze, she asked me, *If there was not a Place of Scripture* which said, Peter was at a Tanner's House. I told her there was such a Scripture, and directed her where to find it.

After some time she laid her child to sleep in the Cradle, and step't out on a suddain, but came not in again in a pretty while.

I was uneasie that I was left alone in the House, fearing lest, if anything should be missing, I might be suspected to have taken it ; yet I durst not go out to stand in the Street, lest it should be thought I intended to slip away.

But besides that, I soon found Work to imploy my self in ; for the Child quickly waking, fell to Crying, and I was fain to Rock the Cradle in my own Defence, that I might not be annoyed with a Noise, to me not more unpleasant than unusual. At length the Woman came in again, and finding me Nursing the Child, gave me many Thanks, and seemed well pleased with my Company.

When Night came on, the Constable himself came in again, and told me, *Some of the Chief of the Town were met together to Consider what was fit to do with me*, and that I must go with him to them. I went, and he brought me to a little nasty Hut, which they called a *Town-House* (adjoining to their Market-House),* in

* The Town House and Market-house (now converted into a grocer's shop) stood on the site now occupied by the isolated block of buildings facing the Beaconsfield reading-room.—*Jordans and the Chalfonts*.

which dwelt a poor old Woman whom they called *Mother Grime*: where also the Watch used by turns to come in and warm themselves in the Night.

When I came in among them, they looked (some of them) somewhat sourly on me, and ask'd me some impertinent Questions, to which I gave them suitable Answers.

Then they consulted one with another how they should dispose of me that Night, till they could have me before some *Justice of Peace* to be Examined. Some proposed, *That I should be had to some Inn, or other Publick-House, and a Guard set on me there.* He that started this was probably an Inn-keeper, and consulted his own Interest. Others objected against this, *That it would bring a Charge on the Town.* To avoid which they were for having the Watch take Charge of me, and keep me walking about the Streets with them till Morning. Most Voices seemed to go this way, till a Third wished them to consider, *Whether they could Answer the doing of that, and the Law would bear them out in it:* And this put them to a stand. I heard all their Debates, but let them alone: and kept my Mind to the LORD.

While they thus bandied the Matter to and fro, one of the Company asked the rest, *If any of them knew who this Young Man was, and whither he was going?* Whereupon the Constable (to whom I had given both my name and the Name of the Town where I dwelt), told them my Name was *Ellwood*, and that I lived at a Town called *Crowell*, in *Oxfordshire*.

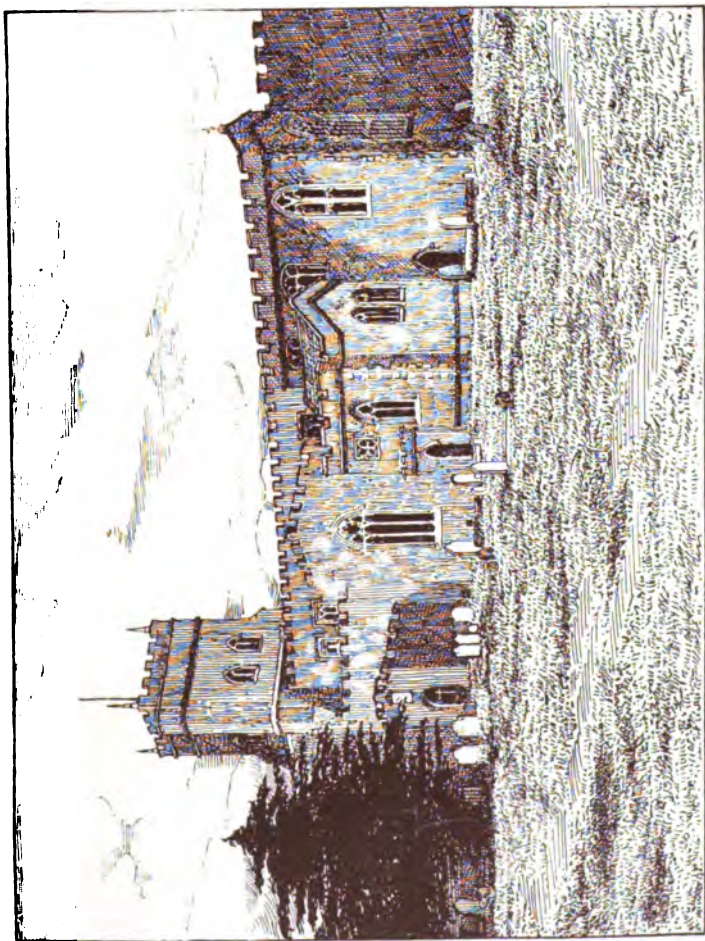
Old Mother Grime, sitting by and hearing this, clap'd her Hand on her Knee, and cry'd out, *I know Mr. Ellwood of Crowell very well. For when I was a Maid I lived with his Grandfather there, when he was a Young Man.* And thereupon she gave them such an Account of my Father as made them look more regardfully on me : and so Mother Grime's Testimony turned the Scale, and took me off from walking the Rounds with the Watch that Night.

The Constable hereupon bade them take no further Care ; I should lie at his House that Night : and accordingly took me home with him, where I had as good Accommodation as the House did afford. Before I went to bed he told me, *That there was to be a Visitation, or Spiritual Court* (as he called it) *holden next Day at Amersham, about four miles from Beconsfield : and that I was to be carried thither.*

This was a new Thing to me, and it brought a fresh Exercise upon my Mind. But being given up in the Will of God to suffer what he should permit to be laid on me, I endeavoured to keep my Mind quiet and still.

In the Morning, as soon as I was up, my Spirit was Exercised towards the Lord in strong Cries to him, that He would stand by me and preserve me : and not suffer me to be taken in the Snare of the Wicked. While I was thus crying to the Lord the other Constable came, and I was called down.

This was a budge Fellow, and talked high. He was a *Shoo-maker* by Trade, and his Name was *Clark*. He threat'ned me with the *Spiritual*



AMERSHAM CHURCH.
From a print taken before the restoration.

Court. But when he saw I did not regard it, he stop't, and left the Matter to his Partner, who pretended more Kindness for me, and therefore went about to persuade *Clark* to let me go out at the Back-Door, so slip away.

The Plot, I suppose, was so laid that *Clark* should seem averse, but at length yield, which he did ; but would have me take it for a Favour. But I was so far from taking it so, that I would not take it at all : but told them plainly, that as I came in at the Fore-Door, so I would go out at the Fore-Door. When therefore they saw they could not bow me to their Will, they brought me out at the Fore-Door into the Street, and wished me a good Journey. Yet before I went, calling for the Woman of the House, I paid her for my Supper and Lodging : for I had now got a little Money in my Pocket again.

After this I got home (as I thought) very well ; but I had not been at home long before an Illness seized on me, which proved to be the *Small-Pox*, Of which, so soon as *Friends* had Notice, I had a Nurse sent me, and in a while *Isaac Penington* and his Wife's Daughter, *Gulielma Maria Springett* (to whom I had been Play-Fellow in our infancy) came to visit me, bringing with them our dear Friend *Edward Burrough*, by whose Ministry I was called to the Knowledge of the Truth.

It pleased the Lord to deal favourably with me in this Illness, both Inwardly and Outwardly. For his Supporting Presence was with me, which kept my Spirit near unto him, and although

the Distemper was strong upon me, yet I was preserved through it, and my Countenance was not much altered by it. But after I was got up again, and while I kept my Chamber, wanting some Imployment, for Entertainment sake, to spend the Time with, and there being at hand a pretty good Library of Books (amongst which were the Works of *Augustine* and others of those ancient Writers, who were by many called the Fathers), I betook my self to reading. And these Books being Printed in the Old Black-Letter, with Abbreviations of the Words difficult to be read I spent too much time therein, and thereby much impaired my Sight, which was not strong before, and was now weaker than usual, by reason of the Illness I had so newly had, which proved an injury to me afterwards, for which reason I here mention it.

After I was well enough to go abroad, with respect to my own Health, and the Safety of others, I went up (in the beginning of the *Twelfth Month*, 1661) to my Friend *Isaac Penington's* at *Chalfont*, and abode there some time, for the Airing my self more fully, that I might be more fit for Conversation.

I mentioned before, that when I was a Boy, I had made some good Progress in Learning, and lost it all again before I came to be a Man : Nor was I rightly sensible of my Loss therein until I came amongst the *Quakers*. But then I both saw my Loss and lamented it ; and applied my self with utmost Diligence, at all leisure Times, to recover it ; so false I found that

Charge to be, which in those times was cast as a reproach upon the *Quakers*, That *they despised and decried all Human Learning*, because they denied it to be essentially necessary to a *Gospel-Ministry*, which was one of the Controversies of those Times.

But though I toiled hard, and spared no Pains to regain what once I had been Master of, yet I found it a matter of so great Difficulty that I was ready to say as the Noble *Eunuch* to *Philip* in another Case, *How can I, unless I had some Man to guide me?*

This I had formerly complained of to my especial Friend *Isaac Penington*, but now more earnestly: which put him upon considering and contriving a Means for my Assistance.

He had an intimate acquaintance with Dr. *Paget*, a Physician of Note in *London*, and he, with *John Milton*, a Gentleman of Great Note for Learning throughout the Learned World, for the accurate Pieces he had written on various Subjects and Occasions.

This Person, having filled a Publick Station in the former Times, lived now a private and retired Life in *London*, and having wholly lost his Sight, kept always a Man to read to him, which usually was the Son of some Gentleman of his Acquaintance, whom, in Kindness, he took to Improve in his Learning.

Thus, by the Mediation of my Friend *Isaac Penington* with Dr. *Paget*, and of Dr. *Paget* with *John Milton*, was I admitted to come to him, not as a servant to him (which at that time he needed not), nor to be in the house with him,

but only to have the Liberty of Coming to his House at certain Hours when I would, and to read to him what Books he should appoint me, which was all the favour I desired.

But this being a Matter which would require some time to bring it about, I in the mean while, returned to my Father's House in *Oxfordshire*.

I had before received Direction, by Letters from my Eldest Sister (written by my Father's Command) to put off what Cattle he had left about his house, and to Discharge his Servants ; which I had done at the time called *Michaelmas* before. So that all that Winter, when I was at Home, I lived like a *Hermit*, all alone, having a pretty large House, and no body in it but my self, all nights especially ; But an elderly Woman (whose Father had been an old Servant to the Family) came every Morning and made my Bed, and did what else I had occasion for her to do ; till I fell ill of the Small Pox, and then I had her with me and the Nurse. But now, understanding by Letter from my Sister that my Father did not intend to return to settle there, I made off those Provisions which were in the House (that they might not be spoiled when I was gone) and because they were what I should have spent if I had tarried there, I took the Money made of them to my self, for my Support at *London*, if the Project succeeded for my Going thither.

This done, I committed the Care of the House to a Tenant of my Father's who lived in the Town, and taking leave of *Crowell*, went up to my sure friend *Isaac Penington* again. Where

understanding that the Mediation used for my Admittance to *John Milton* had succeeded so well that I might come when I would, I hastened to *London*, and in the first place went to wait upon him.

He received me courteously, as well for the sake of Dr. *Paget*, who introduced me, as of *Isaac Penington*, who recommended me; to both of whom he bore a good Respect. And having inquired divers things of me, with respect to my former Progression in Learning, he dismissed me, to provide my self of such Accommodation as might be most suitable to my future Studies.

I went therefore and took my self a lodging as near to his House (which was then in *Jewen-Street*) as conveniently as I could, and from thence forward went every day in the Afternoon (except on the *First Days* of the Week) and sitting by him in his Dining-Room read to him in such Books in the *Latin Tongue* as he pleased to hear me read.

At my first sitting to read to him, observing that I used the *English Pronunciation*, he told me, *If I would have the Benefit of the Latin Tongue* (not only to read and understand Latin Authors, but) to *Converse with Foreigners, either abroad or at home, I must learn the Foreign Pronunciation*. To this I consenting, he instructed me how to sound the Vowels; so different from the common pronunciation used by the *English* (who speak *Anglice* their Latin) that (with some few other Variations in sounding some Consonants in particular Case, as C before

E or *I* like *Ch. Sc* before *I* like *Sh*, &c.) the *Latin* thus spoken seemed as different from that which was delivered, as the *English* generally speak it, as if it was another Language.

I had before, during my retired Life at my Father's, by unwearied Diligence and Industry, so far recovered the Rules of *Grammar* (in which I had once been very ready) that I could both read a *Latin* Author and after a Sort hammer out his Meaning. But this Change of Pronunciation proved a New Difficulty to me. It was now harder to me to read than it was before to understand when read. But

. . . *Labor omnia vincit*
Improbos. . . .

Incessant Pains,
The End obtains.

And so did I. Which made my Reading the more acceptable to my Master. He, on the other hand, perceiving with what earnest Desire I pursued Learning, gave me not only all the Encouragement but all the Help he could; for, having a curious Ear, he understood by my Tone when I understood what I read and when I did not: and accordingly would stop me, Examine me, and open the most difficult Passages to me.

Thus went I on for about Six Weeks' time, reading to him in the Afternoons, and Exercising myself with my own books in my chamber, in the Forenoons: I was sensible of an Improvement.

But, alas ! I had fixed my Studies in a wrong place. *London* and I could never agree for Health : my Lungs (as I suppose) were too tender to bear the Sulphurous Air of that City. So that I soon began to droop ; and in less than two Months' time I was fain to leave both my Studies and the City, and return into the Country to preserve Life : and much ado I had to get thither.

I chose to go down to *Wiccomb*, and to *John Rance's* House there ; both as he was a Physician, and his Wife an honest, hearty, discreet, and grave Matron, whom I had a very good Esteem of, and who (I knew) had a good Regard for me.

There I lay Ill a considerable time, and to that degree of Weakness that scarce any who saw me expected my Life. But the Lord was both Gracious to me in my Illness, and was pleased to raise me up again, that I might Serve him in my Generation.

As soon as I had recovered so much Strength as to be fit to Travel, I obtained of my Father (who was then at his House in *Crowell*, to dispose of some things he had there, and who in my Illness had come to see me) so much Money as would clear all Charges in the House, for both Physick, Food, and Attendance ; and having fully discharged all, I took leave of my Friends in that Family and in the Town, and returned to my Studies at *London*.

I was very kindly received by my Master, who had conceived so good an opinion of me, that my Conversation (I found) was acceptable to him, and he seem'd heartily glad of my Re-

covery and Return ; and into our old Method of Study we fell again, I reading to him, and he explaining to me, as occasion required.

But as if Learning had been a forbidden Fruit to me, scarce was I well settled in my Work before I met with another Diversion, which turned me quite out of my work.

For a suddain Storm arising, from I know not what surmise of a Plot, and thereby Danger to the Government, the meetings of Dissenters—(such I mean as could be found, which perhaps were not many besides the *Quakers*)—were broken up throughout the City, and the Prisons mostly filled with our *Friends*.

I was that Morning (which was the 26th day of the 8th Month, 1662), at the Meeting at the *Bull-and-Mouth*,* by *Aldersgate*, when on a suddain a Party of Soldiers (of the Trained Bands of the City) rushed in, with Noise and Clamour, being Led by one who was called *Major Rosewell*, an *Apothecary* (if I misremember not) and at that time under the ill Name of a *Papist*.

As soon as he was come within the Room, having a File or two of Musketeers at his Heels, he commanded his Men to present their Muskets at us, which they did, with intent (I suppose) to strike a Terror into the People. Then he made a Proclamation that all who were not *Quakers* might depart if they would.

It so happened that a Young Man, an Apprentice in *London*, whose Name was —— *Dove* (the Son of Dr. *Dove*, of *Chinner*, near

* See Appendix : General Notes.



QUAKER MEETING AT THE "BULL AND MOUTH."

From the Mezzotint by Egbert van Hemskerck. The figures at the extreme right are said to represent William Penn and the Duke of York. (See Appendix, p. 339.)

Crowell, in *Oxfordshire*) came that Day in Curiosity to see the Meeting, and Coming early, and finding me there (whom he knew), came and sat down by me.

As soon as he heard the Noise of Soldiers he was much startled, and asked me softly, *If I would not shift for my Self, and try to get out.* I told him, No ; I was in my place, and was willing to suffer if it was my Lot. When he heard the Notice given that *they who were not Quakers might depart*, he solicited me again to be gone. I told him I could not do so, for that would be to renounce my Profession, which I would by no means do. But as for him, who was not one of us, he might do as he pleased. Whereupon, wishing me well, he turned away, and with cap in Hand went out. And truly I was glad he was gone, for his Master was a rigid *Presbyterian*, who (in all likelihood) would have led him a wretched Life had he been taken and imprisoned among the *Quakers*.

The Soldiers came so early that the Meeting was not fully gathered when they came, and when the mixt Company were gone out, we were so few, and sat so thin in that large Room, that they might take a clear View of us all, and single us out as they pleased.

He that Commanded the Party gave us first a general Charge to come out of the Room. But we, who came thither at God's Requirings, to Worship Him (like that good man of old who said, *We ought to obey God rather than Men*, Acts 5. 29), stirred not, but kept our Places. Whereupon he sent some of his

Soldiers among us, with Command to Drag or Drive us out, which they did roughly enough.

When we came out into the Street, we were received there by other Soldiers, who with their Pikes holden length-wise from one another encompassed us round as Sheep in a Pound : and there we stood a pretty time, while they were picking up more to add to our Number.

In this Work none seemed so eager and active as their Leader, Major *Rosewell* ; which I observing, stepped boldly to him as he was passing by me, and asked him, If he intended a *Massacre*, for of that, in those days, there was a great Apprehension and Talk. The suddainness of the Question, from such a young Man, especially, somewhat startled him ; but recollecting himself, he answered, *No ; but I intend to have you all hanged by the wholesome Laws of the Land.*

When he had gotten as many as he could, or thought fit (which were in Number *Thirty-Two*, whereof Two were catch'd up in the Street, who had not been at the Meeting) he ordered the Pikes to be opened before us : and giving the Word to March, went himself at the Head of us, the Soldiers with their Pikes making a Lane to keep us from scattering.

He led us up *Martins*, and so turned down to *Newgate*, where I expected he would have lodged us. But, to my Disappointment, he went on through *Newgate*, and turning through the *Old Baily*, brought us into *Fleet-street*. I was then wholly at a Loss to conjecture whither he would lead us, unless it were to *Whitehall* (for I knew nothing then of *Old Bridewell*) ;

but on a suddain he gave a short Turn, and brought us before the Gate of that Prison, where knocking, the Wicket was forthwith opened, and the Master, with his Porter, ready to receive us.

One of those two who were picked up in the Street, being near me, and telling me his Case, I stept to the Major, and told him, That this Man was not at the Meeting, but was taken up in the Street; and shew'd him how hard and unjust a thing it would be to put him into Prison.

I had not pleased him before, in the Question I had put to him about a Massacre, and that, I suppose, made this solicitation less acceptable to him from me than it might have been from some other. For looking sternly on me he said, *Who are you! that take so much upon you. Seeing you are so busie, you shall be the first Man that shall go into Bridewell:* and taking me by the Shoulders, he thrust me in.

As soon as I was in, the *Porter*, pointing with his Finger directed me to a fair Pair of Stairs on the further side of a large Court, and bid me *Go up those Stairs and go on till I could go no farther.*

Accordingly I went up the Stairs; the first Flight whereof brought me to a fair Chappel on my left hand, which I could look into through the Iron-Grates, but could not have gone into if I would.

I knew that was not a Place for me. Wherefore, following my Direction and the winding of the Stairs, I went up a Story higher, which

brought me into a Room which I soon perceived to be a Court-Room or Place of *Judicature*. After I had stood a little while there, and taken a View of it, observing a Door on the further side, I went to it, and opened it, with Intention to go in : but I quickly drew back, being almost affrighted at the Dismalness of the Place. For besides that the Walls quite round were laid all over, from Top to Bottom, in Black, there stood in the middle of it a great Whipping-Post, which was all the Furniture it had.

In one of these two Rooms Judgment was given, and in the other it was executed on those ill People who for their Lewdness were sent to this Prison, and there Sentenced to be Whip'd. Which was so contrived that the Court might not only hear, but see, if they pleased, their Sentence Executed.

A Sight so unexpected, and withal so unpleasing, gave me no Encouragement either to rest or indeed to enter at all there ; till looking earnestly I spy'd on the opposite Side, a Door, which giving me Hopes of a further Progress, I adventured to step hastily to it, and opened it.

This let me into one of the fairest Rooms that (so far as I remember) I was ever in, and no wonder, for though it was now put to this mean Use, it had for many Ages past been the Royal Seat or Palace of the Kings of *England*, until Cardinal *Woolsey* Built *Whitehall*, and offered it as a *Peace-Offering* to King *HENRY* the *Eighth*, who until that time had kept his Court in this House, and had this (as the people

in the House reported) for his Dining-Room, by which Name it then went.

This Room in length (for I lived long enough in it to have time to measure it) was *Threescore Foot*, and had Breadth proportionable to it. In it, on the Front-Side, were very large Bay-Windows, in which stood a large Table. It had other very large Tables in it, with Benches round: and at that time the Floor was covered with Rushes, against some Solemn Festival, which (I heard) it was bespoken for.

Here was my *Nil ultra*, and here I found I might set up my Pillar: for although there was a Door out of it to a Back-Pair of Stairs which led to it, yet that was kept locked. So that finding I had now followed my Keeper's Direction to the utmost Point, beyond which I could not go, I sat down and considered that rhetorical Saying, *That the Way to Heaven lay by the Gate of Hell*; the Black Room, through which I passed into this, bearing some Resemblance to the latter, as *This* comparatively, and by way of Allusion, might in some sort be thought to bear to the former.

But I was quickly put out of these Thoughts by the Flocking in of the other *Friends*, my Fellow-Prisoners, amongst whom yet, when all were come together, there was but one whom I knew so much as by face, and with him I had no Acquaintance. For I having been but a little while in the City, and in that time kept close to my Studies, I was by that Means known to very few.

Soon after we were all gotten together, came up

the Master of the House after us, and demanded our Names, which we might reasonably have refused to give, till we had been legally convened before some Civil Magistrate who had Power to Examine us and demand our Names. But we, who were neither *Guilful* nor *Wilful*, simply gave him our Names, which he took down in Writing.

It was (as I hinted before) a general Storm which fell that Day, but it lighted most, and most heavy, upon our Meetings; so that most of our Men-Friends were made Prisoners, and the Prisons generally filled. And great Work had the Women to run about from Prison to Prison to find their Husbands, their Fathers, their Brothers, or their Servants; for according as they had disposed themselves to several Meetings, so were they dispersed to several Prisons. And no less Care and Pains had they, when they had found them, to furnish them with Provisions and other necessary Accommodations.

But an excellent Order, even in those early Days, was practised among the *Friends* of that City, by which there were certain *Friends* of either Sex, appointed to have the Oversight of the Prisons in every Quarter, and to take Care of all Friends, the *poor* especially, that should be Committed thither.

This Prison of *Bridewell* was under the Care of two honest, grave, discreet, and motherly Women, whose Names were *Anne Merrick* (afterwards *Vivers*), and *Anne Travers*, Widows both.

They, so soon as they understood that there were *Friends* brought into that Prison, provided some hot Victuals, Meat, and Broth (for the Weather was cold), and ordering their Servants to bring it them, with Bread, Cheese, and Beer, came themselves also with it, and having placed it on a Table, gave Notice to us, *that it was provided for all those that had not others to provide for them, or were not able to provide for themselves.* And there wanted not among us a competent Number of such Guests.

As for my part, though I had lived as frugally as possibly I could, that I might draw out the Thread of my little Stock to the utmost length, yet had I by this time reduced it to Ten Pence, which was all the Money I had about me, or any where else at my Command.

This was but a small Estate to enter upon an Imprisonment with, yet was I not at all discouraged at it, nor had I a murmuring Thought. I had known what it was (moderately), to *Abound*, and if I should now come to suffer *Want*, I knew I ought to be content: and through the Grace of GOD I was so. I had lived by Providence before (when for a long time I had no Money at all): and I had always found the LORD a good Provider. I made no doubt, therefore, that He who sent the Ravens to feed *Elijah*, and who cloths the Lillies, would find some means to sustain me with needful Food and Raiment; and I had learn'd by Experience the Truth of that Saying, *Natura paucis contenta*—i.e., Nature is content with few things, or a little.

Although the Sight and Smell of *hot Food* was sufficiently enticing to my *empty Stomach* (for I had Eaten little that Morning and was hungry) yet, considering the Terms of the Invitation, I questioned whether I was included in it; and after some Reasonings at length concluded, That while I had *Ten Pence* in my Pocket, I should be but an injurious Intruder to that Mess, which was provided for such as, perhaps, had not *Two Pence* in theirs.

Being come to this Resolution, I withdrew as far from the Table as I could, and sate down in a quiet Retirement of Mind, till the Repast was over, which was not long; for there were Hands enough at it to make light Work of it.

When Evening came, the Porter came up the Back-Stairs, and opening the Door, told us, *If we desired to have anything that was to be had in the House, he would bring it us*: for there was in the House a Chandler's-shop, at which *Beer, Bread, Butter, Cheese, Eggs and Bacon, might be had for money*. Upon which many went to him, and spake for what of these things they had a Mind to, giving him Money to pay for them.

Among the rest went I, and (intending to spin out my *Ten Pence* as far as I could) desired him to bring me a Penny Loaf only. When he returned we all resorted to him to receive our several Provisions, which he delivered: and when he came to me he told me, *He could not get a Penny Loaf, but he had brought me two Half-Penny Loaves*.

This suited me better : wherefore returning to my Place again, I sate down and Eat up one of my Loaves, reserving the other for the next Day.

This was to me both Dinner and Supper. And so well satisfied I was with it, that I could willingly then have gone to Bed, if I had had one to go to : but that was not to be expected there ; not had any one any Bedding brought in that Night.

Some of the Company had been so considerate as to send for a Pound of Candles, that we might not sit all Night in the Dark ; and having lighted divers of them, and placed them in several Parts of that large Room, we kept walking to keep us warm.

After I had warmed my self pretty thoroughly and the Evening was pretty far spent, I be-thought myself of a Lodging ; and cast mine Eye on the Table, which stood in the Bay-Window, the Frame whereof look't, I thought, somewhat like a Bedstead. Wherefore, willing to make sure of that, I gathered up a good Armful of the Rushes wherewith the floor was covered, and spreading them under that Table, crep't in upon them in my Cloths : and keeping on my Hat, laid my Head upon one End of the Table's Frame, instead of a Bolster.

My Example was followed by the rest, who, gathering up Rushes as I had done, made themselves Beds in other Parts of the Room : and so to rest we went.

I, having a quiet easie Mind, was soon asleep, and slept till about the middle of the Night. And then waking, finding my Legs and Feet

very cold, I crep't out of my Cabin and began to walk about apace.

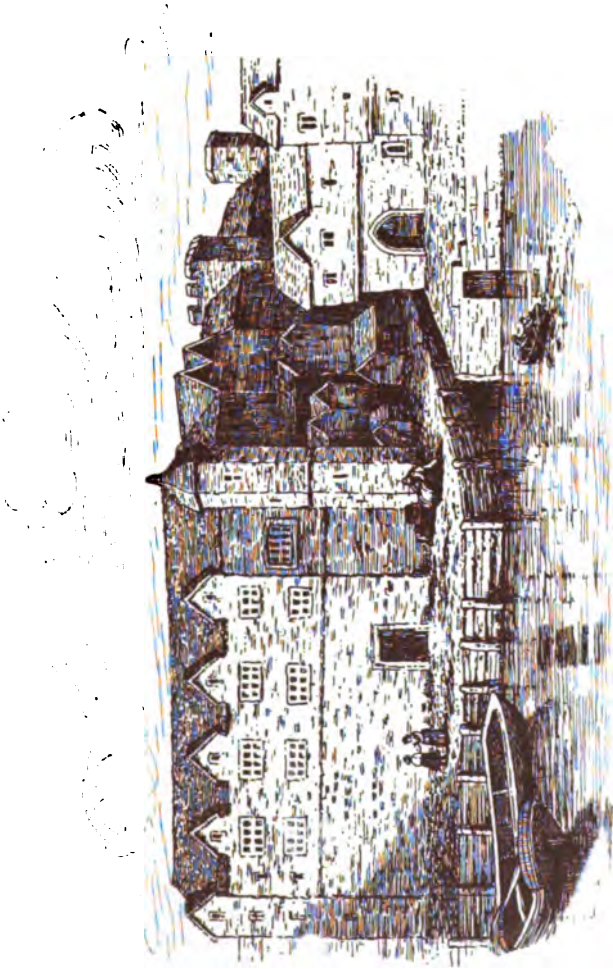
This waked and raised all the rest, who finding themselves cold as well as I, got up and walked about with me, till we had pretty well warmed our selves, and then we all lay down again, and Rested till Morning.

Next Day, all they who had Families, or belong'd to Families, had Bedding brought in of one Sort or other, which they disposed at the Ends and Sides of the Room, leaving the Middle void to walk in.

But I, who had no Body to look after me, kept to my Rushy-Pallet under the Table for four Nights together, in which time I did not put off my Cloths ; yet, through the merciful Goodness of GOD unto me, I rested and slept well, and enjoyed Health, without taking cold.

In this time divers of our Company, thro' the Solicitations of some of their Relations or Acquaintance to Sir *Richard Brown* (who was at that time a great Master of *Mis-rule* in the City, and over *Bridewell* more especially) were released. And among these one *William Mucklow*, who lay in an Hammack. He having observed that I only was unprovided of Lodging, came very courteously to me, and kindly offered me the Use of his Hammack while I should continue a Prisoner.

This was a Providential Accommodation to me, which I received thankfully, both from the LORD and from him : and from thenceforth I thought I lay as well as ever I had done in my Life.



OLD BRIDEWELL, WHERE THOMAS ELLWOOD WAS IMPRISONED.

Amongst those that remained there were several Young Men who cast themselves into a Club, and laying down every one an equal Proportion of Money, put it into the Hand of our Friend *Anne Travers*, desiring her to lay it out for them in Provisions, and send them in every Day a Mess of hot Meat ; and they kindly invited me to come into their Club with them. These saw my Person, and judged of me by that but they saw not my Purse, nor understood the Lightness of my Pocket. But I, who alone understood my own Condition, knew I must sit down with lower Commons. Wherefore, not giving them the true Reason, I as fairly as I could excused my self from entring at present into their Mess, and went on, as before, to Eat by my self, and that very sparingly, as my Stock would bear. And before my Ten Pence was quite spent, Providence, on whom I relied, sent me in a fresh Supply.

For *William Penington* (a Brother of *Isaac Penington's*), a *Friend* and Merchant in *London* (at whose house, before I came to live in the City, I was wont to lodge), having been at his Brother's that Day upon a Visit, escaped this Storm, and so was at Liberty : And understanding when he came back what had been done, bethought himself of me, and upon Enquiry hearing where I was, came in Love to see me.

He in Discourse, amongst other things, asked me, *How it was with me as to money ? and how well I was furnished ?* I told him I could not boast of much, and yet I could not say I had none (Though what I then had was indeed

next to none). Whereupon he put *Twenty Shillings* into my Hand, and desired me to accept of that for the present. I saw a *Divine Hand* in thus opening his Heart and Hand in this manner to me. And tho' I would willingly have been excused from taking so much, and would have returned one half of it, yet he pressing it all upon me, I received it with a thankful Acknowledgment as a Token of Love from the LORD and from him.

On the *Seventh Day* he went down again (as he usually did) to his Brother's House at *Chalfont*, and in Discourse gave them an Account of my Imprisonment. Whereupon, at his Return on the *Second Day* of the Week following, my affectionate Friend *Mary Penington* sent me, by him, *Fourty Shillings*, which he soon after brought me : out of which I would have repaid him the *Twenty Shillings* he had so kindly furnished me with, but he would not admit it, telling me *I might have Occasion for that and more before I got my Liberty*.

Not many Days after this I received *Twenty Shillings* from my Father, who being then at his House in *Oxfordshire*, and by Letter from my Sister understanding that I was a Prisoner in *Bridewell*, sent this Money to me for my Support there : and withal a Letter to my Sister for her to deliver to one called Mr. *Wray*, (who lived near *Bridewell*, and was a servant to Sir *Richard Brown* in some Wharf of his) requesting him to interceed with his Master (who was one of the Governors of *Bridewell*) for my Deliverance. But that Letter coming

to my Hands, I suppresst it, and have it yet by me.

Now was my Pocket from the lowest Ebb risen to a full Tide. I was at the Brink of Want, next Door to nothing, yet my Confidence did not fail, nor my Faith stagger : and now on a suddain I had Plentiful Supplies, shower upon shower, so that I abounded, yet was not lifted up, but in Humility could say, *This is the LORD's Doing*. And without defrauding any of the Instruments of the Acknowledgments due unto them, mine Eye looked over and beyond them to the LORD, who I saw was the Author thereof and prime agent therein : and with a thankful Heart I returned Thanksgivings and Praises to Him. And this great Goodness of the LORD to me I thus Record, to the End that all into whose Hands this may come may be Encouraged to Trust in the LORD, whose Mercy is over all his Works, and who is indeed a God near at Hand, to help in the needful time.

Now I durst venture myself into the Club, to which I had been invited, and accordingly (having by this time gained an Acquaintance with them) took an Opportunity to cast my self among them : and thenceforward, so long as we continued Prisoners there together, I was one of their Mess.

And now the chief thing I wanted was *Employment*, which scarce any wanted but my self ; for the rest of my Company were generally Tradesmen, of such Trades as could set themselves on work. Of these, divers were Taylors, some Masters, some Journey-men, and with these

I most inclined to settle. But because I was too much a Novice in their art to be trusted with their Work, lest I should spoil the Garment, I got work from an *Hosier* in *Cheap-side*, which was to make *Night-Wastcoats*, of *Red* and *Yellow Flannel*, for *Women* and *Children*. And with this I entered myself among the Taylors, sitting Cross-leg'd as they did, and so spent those Leisure Hours with Innocency and Pleasure which want of Business would have made tedious. And indeed that was in a manner the only Advantage I had by it ; for my Master (though a very wealthy Man, and one who professed not only Friendship but particular Kindness to me) dealt I thought but hardly with me. For (though he knew not what I had to subsist by) he never offered me a Penny for my Work till I had done working for him, and went (after I was released) to give him a Visit ; and then he would not Reckon with me neither, *because* (as he smilingly said) *he would not let me so far into his Trade as to acquaint me with the Prices of the Work, but would be sure to give me enough.* And thereupon he gave me One Crown-Piece and no more ; though I had wrought long for him, and made him many Dozens of *Wastcoats*, and bought the Thread my self ; which, I thought, was very poor Pay. But as Providence had ordered it, I wanted the Work more than the Wages, and therefore took what he gave me, without complaining.

About this time (while we were Prisoners in our fair Chamber) a *Friend* was brought and put in among us, who had been sent thither by

Richard Brown to beat Hemp: whose Case was thus.

He was a very poor Man, who lived by *Mending Shoos*, and on a *Seventh Day Night*, late, a Car-Man (or some other such labouring Man) brought him a Pair of Shoos to mend, desiring him to mend them that Night, that he might have them in the Morning, for he had no other to wear. The poor Man sat up at work upon them till after Midnight, and then finding he could not finish them, he went to bed, intending to do the rest in the Morning.

Accordingly he got up betimes, and tho' he wrought as privately as he could in his Chamber, that he might avoid giving Offence to any, yet could he not do it so privately but that an ill-natur'd Neighbour perceived it, who went and informed against him for working on the *Sunday*. Whereupon he was had before *Richard Brown*, who committed him to *Bridewell* for a certain time, to be kept to hard Labour, in beating Hemp: which is Labour hard enough.

It so fell out that at the same time were committed thither (for what Cause I do not now remember) two lusty young Men, who were called *Baptists*, to be kept also at the same Labour.

The *Friend* was a poor little Man, of a low Condition and mean Appearance: Whereas these two *Baptists* were topping Blades, that looked high and spake big. They scorned to beat Hemp, and made a *Pish* at the Whipping-Post; but when they had once felt the Smart

of it, they soon cried *Peccavi*, and submitting to the Punishment, set their tender Hands to the Beetles.

The *Friend*, on the other hand, acting upon a Principle, as knowing he had done no Evil for which he should undergo that Punishment, refused to work, and for Refusing was cruelly Whip't; which he bore with wonderful Constancy and Resolution of Mind.

The manner of Whipping there is, To strip the Party to the Skin from the Waste upwards, and having fastened him to the Whipping-Post (so that he can neither resist nor shun the Strokes) to lash the naked Body with long but slender Twigs of Holly, which will bend almost like Thongs, and lap round the Body: and these having little Knots upon them, tear the Skin and Flesh, and give extreme Pain.

With these Rods they tormented the *Friend* most barbarously and the more for that, having Mastered the Two braving *Baptists*, they disdained to be Mastered by this poor *Quaker*. Yet were they fain at last to yield when they saw their utmost Severity could not make him yield. And then, not willing to be troubled longer with him, they turned him up among us.

When we had enquired of him how it was with him, and he had given us a brief Account of both his Cause and Usage, it came in my Mind that I had in my Box (which I had sent for from my Lodging, to keep some few Books and other Necessaries in) a little Gally Pot with *Lucatellu's-Balsam* in it.

Wherefore, causing a good Fire to be made, and setting the *Friend* within a Blanket before the Fire, we stripped him to the Waste (as if he had been to be Whipt again) : and found his Skin so Cut and Torn with the knotty Holly-Rods, both Back, Side, Arm, and Breast, that it was a dismal Sight to look upon. Then melting some of the Balsam, I with a Feather anointed all the Sores, and putting a softer Cloth between his Skin and his Shirt, helped him on with his Cloths again. This Dressing gave him much Ease, and I continued it till he was well. And because he was a very poor Man, we took him into our Mess, contriving that there should always be enough for him as well as for our selves. Thus he lived with us until the time he was committed for was Expired, and then he was released.

But we were still continued Prisoners by an Arbitrary Power, not being Committed by the Civil Authority, nor having seen the Face of any Civil Magistrate from the Day we were thrust in here by Soldiers (which was the 26th Day of the *Eighth Month*), to the 19th of the *Tenth Month* following.

On that Day we were had to the *Sessions* at the *Old Bayly*. But not being called there, we were brought back to *Bridewell*, and continued there to the 29th of the same Month and then we were carried to the *Sessions* again.

I expected I should have been called the First, because my Name was first taken down ; but it proved otherwise, so that I was one of

the last that was called ; which gave me the Advantage of hearing the pleas of the other Prisoners, and discovering the temper of the Court.

The Prisoners complained of the *Illegality* of their Imprisonment, and desired to know *what they had lain so long in Prison for*. The Court regarded nothing of that, and did not stick to tell them so. For, said the *Recorder* to them, *If you think you have been wrongfully Imprisoned, you have your Remedy at law, and may take it, if you think it worth your while. The Court*, (said he) *may send for any Man out of the Street and tender him the Oath : So : we take no notice how you came hither, but finding you here, we tender you the Oath of Allegiance ; which if you refuse to take, we shall commit you, and at length Præmunire you*. Accordingly, as each one Refused it, he was set aside and another called.

By this I saw it was in vain for me to insist upon False Imprisonment, or ask the Cause of my Commitment ; though I had before furnished my self with some Authorities and Maxims of Law on the Subject, to have Pleaded, if Room had been given : and I had the Book (out of which I took them) in my Bosom ; for, the weather being cold, I wore a gown, Girt about the middle, and had put the Book within it. But I now resolved to wave all that, and insist upon another Plea, which just then came into my Mind.

As soon therefore as I was called I stepped nimble to the Bar, and stood up upon the Stepping

(that I might the better both hear and be heard) and laying my Hands upon the Bar, stood ready, expecting what they would say to me.

I suppose they took me for a confident young Man, for they looked very earnestly upon me, and we faced each other, without Words, for a while. At length the *Recorder* (who was called Sir *John Howel*) asked me, *If I would take the Oath of Allegiance.*

To which I answered, I conceive this Court hath not Power to tender that Oath to me, in the Condition wherein I stand.

This so unexpected Plea seemed to startle them, so that they looked one upon another, and said somewhat low one to another, *What! doth he demur to the Jurisdiction of the Court?* And thereupon the *Recorder* asked me, *Do you then demur to the Jurisdiction of the Court?* Not Absolutely, answered I, but Conditionally, with respect to my present Condition, and the Circumstances I am now under.

Why, what is your present Condition? said the *Recorder*. A Prisoner, replied I. *And what is that,* said he, *to your taking or not taking the Oath?* Enough (said I, *as I conceive*). to exempt me from the Tender thereof while I am under this Condition. *Pray, what is your Reason for that?* said he. This, said I, That if I rightly understand the Words of the Statute, I am required to say *That I do take this Oath freely and without Constraint*, which I cannot say, because I am not a Free-Man, but in Bonds and under Constraint. Wherefore I conceive that if you would tender that Oath to me, ye

ought first to set me free from my present imprisonment.

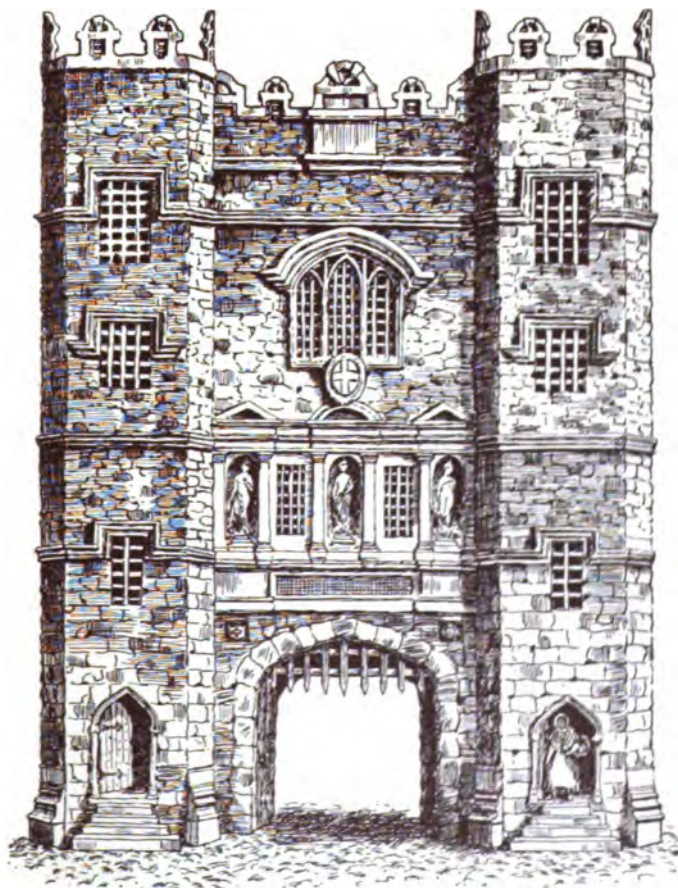
But, said the Recorder, *will you take the Oath if you be set free?* Thou shalt see that, said I, when I am set free. Therefore set me free first, and then ask the Question.

But, said he again, *You know your own Mind sure, and can tell now what you would do if you were at Liberty.* Yes, replied I, that I can : but I don't hold my self obliged to tell it until I am at Liberty. Therefore set me at Liberty, and ye shall soon hear it.

Thus we fenced a good while, till I was both weary of such Trifling and doubted also lest some of the Standers by should suspect I would take it if I was set at Liberty. Wherefore when the *Recorder* put it upon me again, I told him plainly, No ; though I thought they ought not to tender it me till I had been set at Liberty ; yet if I was set at Liberty I could not take that nor any other Oath, because my Lord and Master CHRIST JESUS had expressly Commanded his Disciples *Not to Swear at all.*

As his Command was enough to me, so this Confession of mine was enough to them. *Take him away*, said they ; and away I was taken, and thrust into the Bail-Dock to my other *Friends*, who had been called before me. And as soon as the rest of our Company were called, and had refused to *Swear*, we were all Committed to *Newgate*, and thrust into the Common-Side.

When we came there we found that Side of the Prison very full of *Friends*, who were Prisoners there before (as indeed were at that



GATEWAY OF NEWGATE, 1666

time all the other Parts of that Prison, and most of the other Prisons about the Town), and our Addition caused a great Throng on that Side. Notwithstanding which we were kindly welcomed by our *Friends*, whom we found there, and entertained by them as well as their Condition would admit, until we could get in our Accommodations and provide for our selves.

We had the Liberty of the Hall (which is on the first Story over the Gate, and which in the Day-time is common to all the Prisoners on that Side, Felons as well as others, to walk in and to Beg out of); and we had also the Liberty of some other Rooms over that Hall, to walk or work in a days. But in the Night we all Lodged in one Room, which was large and round, having in the Middle of it a great Pillar of Oaken Timber, which bore up the Chappel that is over it.

To this Pillar we fastened our Hammacks at the one End, and to the opposite Wall on the other End, quite round the Room, and in three Degrees, or three Stories high, one over the other; so that they who lay in the Upper and Middle Row of Hammacks were obliged to go to Bed first, because they were to Climb up to the Higher by getting into the Lower. And under the Lower Rank of Hammacks, by the Wall sides, were laid Beds upon the Floor, in which the Sick and such weak Persons as could not get into the Hammacks lay. And indeed, though the Room was large and pretty airy, yet the Breath and Steam that came from so many Bodies, of different Ages, Conditions,

and Constitutions, pack't up so close together, was enough to cause Sickness amongst us, and I believe did so. For there were many Sick and some very weak : though we were not long there, yet in that time one of our Fellow-Prisoners, who lay in one of those Pallat-Beds, died.

This caused some Bustle in the House. For the Body of the Deceased being laid out and put into a Coffin, was carried down and set in the Room called the *Lodge*, that the *Coroner* might enquire into the Cause and Manner of his Death. And the manner of their doing it is thus. As soon as the *Coroner* is come, the *Turnkeys* run out into the Street under the Gate, and seize upon every Man that passes by, till they have got enough to make up the *Coroner's Inquest*. And so resolute these rude Fellows are, that if any Man Resist, or dispute it with them, they drag him in by main Force, not regarding what Condition he is of. Nay, I have been told they will not stick to stop a Coach, and pluck the Men out of it.

It so happened that at this time they lighted on an Ancient Man, a grave Citizen, who was trudging through the Gate in great Haste, and him they laid hold on, telling him, *He must come in and serve upon the Coroner's Inquest*. He pleaded hard, beg'd and besought them to let him go, assuring them *He was going on very urgent Business, and that the stopping him would be greatly to his Prejudice*. But they were deaf to all Intreaties, and hurried him in, the poor Man Chaffing without Remedy.

When they had got their Complement, and were shut in together, the rest of them said to this Ancient Man, "*Come, Father, You are the oldest Man among us: You shall be our Foreman.*" And when the Coroner had Sworn them on the Jury, the Coffin was uncovered, that they might look upon the Body. But the Old Man, disturbed in his Mind at the Interruption they had given him, was grown somewhat fretful upon it: said to them, *To what purpose do you shew us a dead Body here? You would not have us think, sure, that this Man died in this Room! How then shall we be able to judge how this man came by his death unless we see the Place wherein he died, and wherein he hath been kept Prisoner before he died? How know we but that the Incommodiousness of the Place wherein he was kept may have occasioned his Death? Therefore, shew us (said he) the Place wherein this Man died.*

This much displeased the Keepers, and they began to banter the Old Man, thinking to have beaten him off it. But he stood up titely to them: *Come, Come,* said he, *Though you have made a Fool of me in bringing me in hither, ye shall not find a Child of me, now I am here. Mistake not your selves: I understand my Place and your Duty; and I require you to Conduct me and my Brethren to the Place where this Man died: Refuse it at your Peril.*

They now wished they had let the Old Man go about his Business, rather than by troubling him have brought this Trouble on themselves. But when they saw he persisted

in his Resolution and ^{was} peremptory, the Coroner told them *They must go shew him the Place.*

It was in the Evening when they began this work, and by this time it was grown bed time with us: so that we had taken down our hammacks (which in the Day were hung up by the walls) and had made them ready to go into, and were undressing our selves in readiness to go into them when on a suddain we heard a great Noise of Tongues and of Tramlings of Feet coming up towards us. And by and by one of the *Turnkeys*, opening our Door, said, *Hold, hold, Don't undress yourselves: here's the Coroner's Inquest coming to see you.*

As soon as they were come to the Door (for within the Door there was scarce room for them to come), the Foreman, who led them, lifting up his Hand, said, *Lord bless me! what a Sight is here! I did not think there had been so much cruelty in the Hearts of English men to use English men in this Manner! We need not now question* (said he to the rest of the jury) *how this man came by his Death. We may rather wonder that they are not all dead, for this Place is enough to breed an infection among them. Well,* added he, *If it please God to lengthen my Life till to Morrow, I will find means to let the King know how his Subjects are dealt with.*

Whether he did so or no, I cannot tell; but I am apt to think that he applied himself to the Mayor or the Sheriffs of London. For the next Day one of the Sheriffs (called Sir William Turner, a Wollen Draper in Paul's Yard), came

to the Press-Yard,* and having ordered the Porter of *Bridewell* to attend him there, sent up a *Turnkey* amongst us, to bid all the *Bridewell* Prisoners come down to him : for they knew us not, but we knew our own Company.

Being come before him, in the Press-Yard, he looked kindly on us and spoke courteously to us, *Gentlemen*, said he, *I understand the Prison is very full, and I am sorry for it. I wish it were in my Power to release you and the rest of your Friends that are in it. But since I cannot do that, I am willing to do what I can for you. And therefore I am come hither to inquire how it is ; and I would have all you who came from Bridewell return thither again, which will be a better Accommodation to you : and your Removal will give the more room to those that are left behind ; and here is the Porter of Bridewell, your old Keeper, to attend you thither.*

We duly acknowledged the Favour of the Sheriff to us and our Friends above, in this Removal of us, which would give them more Room and us a better Air. But before we parted from him I spake particularly to him, on another Occasion, which was this.

When we came into *Newgate* we found a shabby Fellow there among the *Friends*, who (upon inquiry) we understood had thrust him-

* The Press-yard derived its name from the hideous custom of pressing to death with heavy weights persons who refused to plead. Some poor wretches had the constancy to endure this in order to avoid the operation of the law of *præmunire*, which would have reduced their children to beggary.

self among our *Friends* when they were taken at a Meeting, on purpose to be sent to Prison with them, in hopes to be maintained by them. They knew nothing of him till they found him shut in with them in the Prison, and then took no Notice of him, as not knowing how or why he came thither. But he soon gave them cause to take Notice of him : for wher-ever he saw any Victuals brought forth for them to Eat, he would be sure to thrust in, with Knife in hand, and make himself his own Carver. And so impudent was he, that if he saw the Provision was short, whoever wanted, he would be sure to take enough.

Thus lived this lazy Drone upon the Labours of the industrious Bees, to his high Content and their no small Trouble : to whom his Company was as Offensive as his Ravening was Oppressive ; nor could they get any Relief, by their complaining of him to the Keepers.

This Fellow, hearing the Notice which was given for the *Bridewell*-Men to go down, in order to be removed to *Bridewell* again, and hoping (no doubt) that fresh Quarters would produce fresh Commons, and that he should fare better with us than where he was, thrust himself amongst us, and went down into the Press-Yard with us. Which I knew not of till I saw him standing there with his Hat on, and looking as demurely as he could, that the Sheriff might take him for a *Quaker* : at the Sight of which my Spirit was much stirred.

Wherefore, so soon as the Sheriff had done speaking to us, and we had made our Acknow-

ledgment of his Kindness, I stept a little nearer to him, and pointing to that Fellow, said, That Man is not only none of our Company, for he is no *Quaker*, but is an idle, dissolute Fellow, who hath thrust himself in among our Friends, to be sent to Prison with them, that he might live upon them : therefore I desire we may not be troubled with him at *Bridewell*.

At this the Sheriff smiled, and calling the Fellow forth, said to him, *How came you to be in Prison ?* I was taken at a Meeting, said he. *But what Business had you there ?* said the Sheriff. I went to hear, said he. *Ay, you went upon a worse Design, it seems,* replied the Sheriff ; *but I'll disappoint you,* said he : *for I'll change your Company and send you to them that are like your self.* Then calling for the Turn key, he said, *Take this Fellow, and put him among the Felons, and besure let him not trouble the Quakers any more.*

Hitherto this Fellow had stood with his Hat on, as willing to have passed (if he could) for a *Quaker* ; but as soon as he heard this Doom passed on him, off went his Hat : and to bowing and scraping he fell, with *Good your Worship, have pity upon me, and set me at Liberty.* No, no, said the Sheriff, *I will not so far disappoint you ; since you had a mind to be in Prison, in Prison you shall be for me.* Then bidding the Turnkey take him away, he had him up, and put him among the Felons, and so Friends had a good Deliverance from him.

The Sheriff then bidding us Farewel, the Porter of *Bridewell* came to us, and told us,

We knew our Way to Bridewell without him, and he could trust us ; therefore he would not stay nor go with us, but left us to take our own time ; so we were in before Bed-time.

Then went we up again to our Friends in *Newgate*, and gave them an Account of what had passed : and having taken a solemn Leave of them, we made up our Packs to be gone. But before I pass from *Newgate*, I think it not amiss to give the Reader some little Account of what I Observed while I was there.

The Common Side of *Newgate* is generally accounted, as it really is, the Worst Part of that Prison ; not so much from the Place, as the People : it being usually stocked from the veriest Rogues and meanest sort of Felons and Pick-Pockets, who not being able to pay Chamber-Rent on the Master's Side, are thrust in there. And if they come in Bad, to be sure they do not go out better : for here they have the Opportunity to instruct one another in their Art, and impart to each other what Improvements they have made therein.

The Common Hall (which is the first Room over the Gate) is a good Place to walk in, when the Prisoners are out of it (saving the danger of catching some Cattle, which they may have left in it) : and there I used to walk in a Morning before they were let up, and sometimes in the Day time when they have been there.

They all carried themselves respectfully towards me, which I imputed chiefly to this, That when any of our Women-Friends came

there to Visit the Prisoners, if they had not Relations of their own there to take care of them, I, as being a young Man, and more at leisure than most others (for I could not play the tailor there) was forward to go down with them to the Grate, and see them safe out. And sometimes they have left Money in my Hands for the Felons (who at such times were very importunate Beggars): which I forthwith distributed among them in Bread, which was to be had in the Place. But so trouble-som an Office it was, that I thought one had as good have had a Pack of hungry Hounds about one, as these, when they knew there was a Dole to be given. Yet this, I think, made them a little the more observant to me; for they would dispose themselves to one side of the Room, that they might make way for me to walk on the other. And when I walked there, I had usually a Book in my hand, on which I had mine Eye: which made them think I did not heed what they said. By this Means, mine Ear being attentive to them, I heard them relate one to another many of their Roguish Pranks.

One Day, as I was thus walking to and fro beside them, I heard them recounting one to another what Feats they had done at *Pocket-picking* and *Shop-lifting*. Whereupon, turning short upon them, I asked them, Which of you will undertake to pick my Pocket? They were not very forward to Answer, but viewed me round. I wore a long Gown, which was lap't over before, and tied about the middle, and had no Pocket-Holes in it. When they

had a while considered it, and I (having taken another Turn) was come up again to them, One of them said, *Why, Master, If you will Promise not to Prosecute us, we will show you a Piece of our Skill.* Nay, hold there, said I, I won't so far encourage you in Evil, as to promise not to prosecute : and away I turned again, having mine Eye on my Book, but mine Ears to them. And in a while I heard them contriving how they would have done it, *I*, said one of them, *would give him the Budge, and before he can recover himself, you* (said he to another of them) *having your Penknife ready, should slit his Gown ; and then* (said he) *let Honeypot alone for the diving part.* This *Honeypot* was a little Boy (then in Prison with them for Picking a Pocket) who, by his Stature, did not seem to be above Ten or a Dozen Years old : but for his Dexterity at *Pocket-picking* was held to be one of the top of the Trade. As for the *Budge*, I had had it given me often in the Street, but understood not the Meaning of it till now : and now I found it was a Jostle, enough to throw one almost upon his Nose.

I have sometimes occasionally been in the Hall in an Evening, and have seen the Whores let in unto them (which I take to be a common Practice) : Nasty sluts indeed they were, and in that respect the more suitable. And as I have passed by them, I have heard the Rogues and they Making their Bargains, which and which of them should Company together that Night. Which abominable Wickedness must be imputed to the Dishonesty of the *Turnkeys* ; who, for

vile Gain to themselves, not only suffer, but further this Leudness.

These are some of the common Evils, which make the Common Side of *Newgate*, in measure a Type of HELL upon EARTH. But there was, at that time, something of another Nature, more Particular and Accidental, which was very Offensive to me.

When we came first into *Newgate*, there lay (in a little By-place like a Closet, near the Room where we were Lodged) the Quartered Bodies of three men, who had been Executed some Days before, for a real or pretended Plot : which was the ground or at least Pretext, for that Storm in the City, which had caused this Imprisonment. The Names of these three Men were *Philips*, *Tongue* and *Gibs* : and the Reason why their Quarters lay so long there was, The Relations were all that while Petitioning to have leave to bury them : which at length, with much ado, was obtained for the Quarters, but not for the Heads, which were Ordered to be set up in some Parts of the City.

I saw the Heads when they were brought up to be Boyled. The Hangman fetch'd them in a dirty Dust Basket, out of some By-Place, and setting them down amongst the Felons, he and they made Sport with them. They took them by the Hair, Flouting, Jeering, and Laughing at them : and then giving them some ill names, box'd them on the Ears and Cheeks. Which done, the Hangman put them into his Kettle, and parboyl'd them with *Bay-Salt* and *Cummin-Seed* : that to keep them from Putrefaction,

and this to Keep of the Fowls from seizing on them. The whole Sight (as well that of the Bloody Quarters first, as this of the Heads afterwards) was both frightful and loathsome, and begat an Abhorrence in my Nature. Which as it had rendered my Confinement there by much the more uneasie, so it made our Removal from thence to *Bridewell*, even in that respect, the more welcome. Whither we now go.

For having (as I hinted before) made up our Packs and taken our Leave of our *Friends*, whom we were to leave behind, we took our Bundles on our Shoulders, and walked Two and Two a-Breast through the *Old Baily* into *Fleet-Street* and so to *Old Bridewell*. And it being about the Middle of the Afternoon, and the Streets pretty full of People, both the Shopkeepers at their Doors and Passengers in the Way would stop us, and ask us what we were, and whither we were going. And when we had told them we were Prisoners, going from one Prison to another (from *Newgate* to *Bridewell*) *What*, said they, *without a Keeper*! No, said we, for our Word, which we have given, is our Keeper. Some thereupon would advise us not to go to Prison, but to go home. But we told them we could not do so; we could suffer for our Testimony, but could not fly from it. I do not remember we had any Abuse offered us: but were generally pitied by the People.

When we were come to *Bridewell*, we were not put up into the great Room in which we had been before, but into a low Room in another

fair Court, which had a Pump in the Middle of it. And here we were not shut up as before, but had the Liberty of the Court to walk in, and of the Pump to wash or drink at. And indeed we might easily have gone quite away (if we would, there being a Passage through the Court into the Street); but we were true and steady Prisoners, and looked upon this Liberty, arising from their Confidence in us, to be a kind of Paroll upon us; so that both Conscience and Honour stood now engaged for our true Imprisonment.

Adjoining to this Room wherein we were was such another, both newly fitted up for *Work-Houses*, and accordingly furnished with very great Blocks for Beating Hemp upon, and a lusty Whipping-Post there was in each. And it was said, That *Richard Brown* had ordered those Blocks to be provided for the *Quakers* to Work on, resolving to try his Strength with us in that Case: but if that was his Purpose, it was over-ruled, for we never had any Work Offered us, nor were we treated after the Manner of those that are to be so Used. Yet we set our selves to Work on them; for being very large, they served the *Taylors* for Shop-boards, and others wrought upon them as they had Occasion: and they served us very well for Tables to eat on.

We had also, besides this Room, the Use of our former Chamber above, to go into when we thought fit: and thither sometimes I withdrew, when I found a Desire for Retirement and Privacy, or had something on my Mind

to write, which could not so well be done in Company. And indeed about this time my Spirit was more than ordinarily Exercised, though on very different subjects. For, on the one hand, the Sense of the Exceeding LOVE and GOODNESS of the *LORD* to me, in his Gracious and Tender Dealings with me, did deeply affect my Heart, and caused me to break forth in a *SONG* of THANKSGIVING and PRAISE to Him: And, on the other hand, a Sense of the Profaness, Debaucheries, Cruelties, and other Horrid Impieties of the AGE, fell heavy on me, and lay as a pressing Weight upon my Spirit; . . . And this drew from me a close *Exprobration*, which my mournful Muse vented in the following Lines, to which I gave for a Title,

Speculum SECULI :
OR, A
LOOKING-GLASS
FOR THE
TIMES.

Which began with this *Expostulatory Preface*

WHY should my Modest MUSE forbidden be
To speak of that which but too many see?
Why should she, by Conniving, seem t' uphold
Mens Wickedness ; and thereby make them bold
Still to persist in't? Why should she be shy
To call them Beasts, who want Humanity?
Why should she any longer Silence keep,
And lie secure, as one that's fast asleep?
Or, how indeed can it expected be,
That she should hold her Tongue, and daily see
Those wicked and enormous Crimes committed
Which she, in Modesty, has pretermitted?
Which but to name would with their filth defile
Chaste Ears, and cast a Blemish on her Stile.
Yet, of so many, she cannot forbear
To mention some, which here detected are.

LOUD were the Cries, which long had pierc'd
mine Ear :

Foul the Reports, which I did daily hear,
Unheard of, new-invented Crimes were brought,
By *Fame* unto my *Knowledge* ; which I thought
Too foul and loathsome to have found a place
In any Heart, though ne'er so void of Grace.
This made me take a more observant View,
Whether Report spake what of Men is true.

But as the celebrated Southern QUEEN,
When she the Court of *Solomon* had seen ;
And had, with more than usual Diligence,
Observ'd his Splendor and Magnificence ;
Consider'd well his Pomp, his Port, his State,
The great Retinne that on him did wait :
As one with Admiration fill'd (no doubt
Not longer able to contain) burst out
Into such Words as these ; *Thrice happy KING !*
(*Whose Fame throughout the Universe doth ring*)
Though of thine Acts I thought Report too bold,
Yet now, I see one half hath not been told.
Just so did I (though in another kind)
After I had intently fix'd my mind
Upon Mens Actions ; and had duly weigh'd
Not only what they *did*, but what they *said* :
A while I stood (like one that's struck with Thunder)
Fill'd with Astonishment, and silent Wonder.
At length my Heart, swelling with *Indignation*,
Vented it self in such an *Exclamation*.

O Hellish Doings ! O Infernal Crew !
Of whom, who says the worst he can says true.
O Herd of Lustful *Satyrs*, Monsters, Brutes !
(For such a Name to such a Nature sutes :)
What Ink is black enough to write ! What Pen
Fit to delineate such Beasts ; not Men !
Words are too shallow to express the *Rage*,
The *Fury*, *Madness* of this *Frantick AGE*,
Numbers fall short to reckon up the *Crimes*,
Which are the *Recreations* of these Times.

Was *Sodom* ever Guilty of a Sin
 Which *England* is not now involved in ?
 By *Custom*, *Drunkenness* so common's grown :
 That most Men count it a *small Sin*, or *none*.
Ranting and *Roaring* they affirm to be
 The true Characters of *Gentility*.
Swearing and *Cursing* is so much in Fashion,
 That 'tis esteem'd a Badge of *Reputation*,
 What *dreadful Oaths* ! What *direful Execrations*
 On others ! On themselves what *Imprecations*
 They tumble out, like roaring Claps of *Thunder*,
 As if they meant to rend the Clouds asunder !
Mockers do so abound in ev'ry Place,
 That rare it is to meet a sober Face.
Ambition, *Boasting*, *Vanity* and *Pride*
 (With Numbers numberless of Sins beside)
 Are grown, thro' Use, so common, that Men call
 Them *Peccadillo's* ; small, or none at all.

But, oh ! the *Luxury*, and *great Excess*
 Which by this wanton Age is us'd in *Dress* !
 What pains do Men and Women take, alas !
 To make themselves for arrand *Bedlams* pass !
 The *Fool's py'd Coat*, which all wise Men detest,
 Is grown a Garment now in great Request.
 More *Colours* in one *Wastcoat* now they wear,
 Than in the *Rain-bow* ever did appear ;
 As if they were ambitious to put on
 All *Colours* that they cast their eyes upon :
 Thereby outstripping the *Chamæleon* quite,
 Which cannot change it self to Red or White.
 Each Man, like *Proteus* his Shape doth change,
 To whatsoever seemeth new or strange :
 And he that in a modest Garb is Drest,
 Is made the Laughing-stock of all the rest.
 Nor are they with their Baubles satisfied :
 But *Sex-Distinctions* too are laid aside,
 The Women wear the *Trowsers*, and the *Vest* :
 While Men in *Muffs*, *Fans*, *Peticoats* are drest.
 Some Women (oh, the Shame !) like ramping Rigs,
 Ride flaunting in their Powder'd *Perriwigs* :

Astride they sit (and not ashamed neither)
 Drest up like Men, in *Jacket, Cap and Feather* :
 All things to *Lust and Wantonness* are fitted :
 Nothing that tends to Vanity omitted.
 To give a Touch on every *Antick Fashion*
 Which hath been worn of late within this Nation,
 Might fill a *Volume*, which would tire, no doubt,
 The *READER'S Patience*, if not wear it out.

Come now, ye *ranting Gallants* of the Times,
 Who nothing have to boast of, but your *Crimes* :
 Ye *Satan's Hectors*, who disdain to Swear
 An Oath beneath God damn me, if he dare.
Blasphemous Wretches ! whose *Impieties*
 With rude Assaults, have storm'd the very *Skies*,
 And dar'd the *God of Heaven*, a dreadful Stroke
 Shall ye receive, by which ye shall be broke :
 And in the fiery Lake those Torments find,
 Which for such *Desperado's* are assigned.

And ye, who take so great delight to Curse,
 As that you think your selves a deal the worse ;
 Unless unto the highest Strain ye swell,
 And with the *Devil* make your Bed in Hell :
 This know, the long provoked God is come,
 From whom you must receive that dreadful Doom ;
Depart, ye Cursed, and for ever dwell,
Where Beds of Torment are prepared, in Hell.

'Twas wonderful to see in what a Trice,
 This Zealous Nation was o'er-run with *Vice*.
 As when the boyling Gulf, with furious Gales
 Puff't up, o'er flows its Banks, and drowns the Vales ;
 And when again it Ebbs, it leaves (we find)
 A loathsom Scum, and noisom Stink behind.

So great was, in a Word, the Wickedness
 Of that black Day, such the uncurb'd Excess
 As if the Fatal Hour had then been come,
 For the Deliv'ry of Hell's pregnant Womb ;
 And that the Devil had a Patent got,

To vend whatever Merchandise he brought;
 Or that *Pandora's Box* (which *Poets* feign
 Did all *Calamities* in it contain)
 Had then been newly op'ned, and from thence
 Had flutter'd out this raging Pestilence:
 Which since, the common Body hath o'erspread
 With such a Lep'rous Scab from Foot to Head;
 That 'tis a lamentable Sight to see,
 How each Sex, old and young, debauched be.

A sort of Men have over-run the Nation,
 Who are a Burthen to the whole Creation:
Men shall I call them, or the *Viper's Brood*?
Lovers of Evil: *Haters* of all good.
 These, swell'd with Envy, in a great Despight
 To *Christ*, with *Fist of Wickedness* do smite
 (Not their own *Fellow-Servants*; for they are
 The *Devil's Slaves*, by him bor'd thro' the Ear:
 But) *God's Ambassadors*, whom he hath sent
 To warn them of their Sins, and cry, *Repent*,
 Or to denounce his *Judgments* against those
 That set themselves his *Message* to oppose,
 These Persecute the Innocent, and say,
When they are gone, 'twill be a merry Day,
 These grind the Poor; the Needy these oppress;
 Widows devour; Tread on the Fatherless.
 Far from themselves they put the Evil Day;
 Remove impending *Judgments* far away:
 And yet in vain they strive t' escape the Stroke
 Of that just God whom boldly they provoke,
 For they afflict his People; slay his Sheep:
 Beat those whom he appointed hath to keep
 And feed his tender Lambs; rend, tear, devour,
 Suppress God's Worship to their utmost Pow'r,
 A Cursed Generation, who are bent
 To spare the *Wicked*; slay the Innocent:
 Whose Blood doth cry, whose Blood doth cry aloud,
 As loud as *Abel's*, pierceth thro' the Cloud;
 Presents it self before the Judgment-Seat,
 And Justice doth of the just Judge intreat,
 That speedy Vengeance he will take on all,
 Who persecute his *Saints*, and them Enthral,

Nor is He deaf; its Cry with him prevails;
 And He hath promised (who never fails
 In the Performance) that he will arise,
 And put a Period to their Cruelties,
 And that he will with more than winged Speed,
 Send Comfort to his poor afflicted Seed,
 Which under *Pharaoh's heavy Yoke* hath groan'd,
 And in *Captivity* it self bemoan'd.

O Bloody Sin of Persecution!
 'Tis thou that pluckest Judgments down upon
 The Heads of *Kings, Princes, Plebeians*, All
 That Act thee, and by thee the *Saints* enthrall,
 This is *that Sin, that Sin* which cries aloud;
 Louder than all the rest, *The Guilt of Blood*;
 Which is the strongest Cord the Devil hath
 To draw down on Mankind God's heavy Wrath,
 Weeping I sigh, and sighing weep to see
 The Rod which God prepared hath for thee,
 O *England*, who dost evilly intreat
 His *Messengers*, and dost his *Prophets* beat.

Ah, England, Ah, poor *England*, I bewail
 Thy sad Estate: O that I might prevail
 In my Desires for thee! Then shouldst thou be
 As full of Joy, as now of Misery.
 For then should Plenty in thy Fields be bound,
 And all thy *Garners* should with Grain abound.
 Then Peace, long-lasting Peace should in thee dwell;
 For God would all thine Enemies repel:
 And He himself would take delight in thee;
 So Thou the Glory of the World would'st be.

But, ah, alas! small Hope I have to see
 Such happy Symptoms of good Health in thee.
 No, No, sad Isle, my Reason it doth tell me,
 That all the Crosses which have yet befel thee
 Are but an Earnest of that dreadful Day,
 Wherein God will upon thy Head repay
 Wrath, Fury, Vengeance and Destruction,
 The just reward of Persecution.

The due Consideration of thy State,
 And time (I fear) inevitable Fate
 Doth move my Heart with *Pity* and *Compassion* ;
 And leads me to this short *Expostulation*.

Who to the Eye gave Sight, what shall not he
 The Cruel Sufferings of his People see ?
 And shall not he that formed hath the Ear,
 The mournful Groans of his *dear Children* hear ?
 Are Men so stupid grown, they think God's Blind ?
 Or that He doth not heed ? or cannot find
 A way to ease the Suff'rings of his Seed ?
 Whose Cry unto him is, *Father, with speed*
Arise, arise ; Rend thou the Clouds, Descend :
Avenge us of our Enemies, Defend
Us from their Cruelties, and let them see
Thy care of us, exceeds our Love to Thee.

Nor are these Sighs in vain : for he indeed
 Is rising, yea is ris'n, our Cause to plead
 In *Righteousness* ; and henceforth us who Kicks
 Shall know 'tis *hard to Kick against the Pricks*.

Be warned then ye *Rulers*, and let all
 Of whatsoever Rank, both great and small,
 Tremble before the Lord ; and cease to Rage
 Against our God's peculiar Heritage
 For, of a Truth, his long-provoked Hand
 Is stretched out, in Judgment, o'er this land ;
 And ye must feel it ; for he hath decreed
 To vindicate his long-oppressed Seed.
 And in his Fury, he will Vengeance take
 In our Behalves, who suffer for his sake.
 Then shall ye know, That he, who sits on high,
 Regards us as the Apple of his Eye.

*To this, occasionally I subjoined a POST
 SCRIPT, thus.*

SINCE what precedes was written, I have found
 An accusation form'd, but without Ground,
 Against me ; That *with uncontrouled Pen*,
I too severely lash the Faults of Men ;

*And take upon me, in Satyrick Rhimes,
To pass a rigid Censure on the Times.
This drew me on to add another Line,
To shew them that the Fault's their own, not mine,
No Crime can justly to my charge be laid :
Unless it be a Crime, That Truth be said,
Nor can, without Injustice, any blame
My Muse, for Echoing the common Fame.*

*If any should object, That wise Men hold,
That Truth at all times ought not to be told.
Nor that whatever comes into one's Head
Should strait, because 'tis true, be published.
I readily assent, because I know
Pearls before Swine we are forbid to throw.
Some Truths, I grant may better be conceal'd,
Than if they out of Season were reveal'd.
Yet would I not that any, through mistake,
Should of my Words a Misconstruction make,
Than that should happen, I had rather be
Tax't by the Reader for Prolixity.*

*Thus then in brief, would I be understood,
If what I know concerns my Brother's good,
For him to know: Ought I not then unfold
It to him, rather than from him with-hold
A Benefit? So on the other side,
It is, I think, too plain to be deny'd,
That if I see what certainly doth tend
To the Hurt of my Neighbour, or my Friend;
I am oblig'd, by Christian Charity,
To give them warning of the danger nigh:
To shew them that they stand upon the brink
Of certain Ruin, and if then they sink,
By wilful Running on, I shall be free
From Guilt, their Blood on their own Heads will be.
'Tis plain I think, yet if ye can't believe it
Without a Scripture Proof, lo, here* I give it.
This is the very Case, which, if well weigh'd
Will fully justifie what I have said.*

* Levit. 19. 17. Ezek. 33.

I saw Men Running to a Precipice,
 At Foot of which was such a vast Abyss
 As could have swallow'd Nations, so immense
 That 'twas impossible to climb out thence.
 For if a Man, we see, but chance to pitch,
 O'er Head and Ears, into some miry Ditch ;
 How quickly is he smothered, unless
 Some Friendly Hand assist in that distress !
 And if, with struggling, out at length we get ;
 Yet how besmear'd is he with Dirt, and wet !
 But into this deep Pit who falls, in vain
 Expect an Hand, to help him out again,
 No, 'tis of Grace that Men forewarned are,
 And, e'er their Feet are taken, *shew'd the Snare.*

And warned they must be. For so was I
 While roaring in their Paths of Vanity :
 Toil'd and bewilder'd in a dismal Night
 Of thick *Egyptian* Darkness, from the Light.
 From whence the Lord hath, by his Love, me drawn,
 And in my Heart hath caus'd his Day to dawn ;
 His glorious Day, his never-setting Sun
 To Rise, and darkness to expel begun.
 This Love, as it arises, warms my Heart,
 And fills it with Desires to impart
 To others of its Goodness ; that none may
 For want of good Direction, miss their way.

Know therefore thou, who hitherto hast spent
 Thy Time in *Vanity*, and wholly bent
 Thy utmost Strength thy Lusts to satisfie,
 And surfeit, with Delights, thy wanton Eye ;
 The Lord hath in thy *Conscience* plac'd a *Light*,
 To teach thee how to guide thy steps aright.
 This checks, when into Evil thou hast run :
 And gives thee warning, e're thou hast begun.
 Hast thou not heard, when in thy full Career,
 Something within thee say, *What do I here ?*
 And when thy Mind is cool, another Day,
 Doth it not sometimes cause thee thus to say ;
O that I had not run into Excess !
O that I had not done this Wickedness !

*My Conscience tells me that I have done ill,
 In yielding to my own corrupted Will :
 And though no Eye did see me, yet my Heart
 I feel is full of Torment, Pain and Smart.
 Were it to do again, I'd have more Care,
 And not run wilfully into the Snare.
 Consider what that is, which thus doth raise
 A Trouble in thee for thy Evil Ways.
 And what that is, which many times doth grieve
 thee;
 And often makes thee Cry out, God forgive me.*

When thus it Checks thee next, strait call to Mind
 That Word, Thine Ear shall hear a Voice behind
 Thee, saying *Hither turn ; this is the Way,*
 When to the Right, or Left, thou go'st astray :
 And having heard, Obedience forthwith give
 To its Reproof: *Hear, and thy Soul shall live.*
 For were Men subject to *Christ's Light within,*
 It certainly would lead Men out of Sin ;
 And, thro' *Believing,* bring them into Heav'n :
 For that's the End, for which by him 'tis giv'n.

Thus have I faithfully discharg'd a Part
 Which long lay, as a weight, upon my Heart.
 Regardless of what Danger may accrue,
 For seasonably speaking what is true.
 And if ungrateful Men shall ill requite
 My[s]ignal Love, with Enmity and Spight :
 I let them know, That my undaunted Pen
 Scorns the contracted Brows of angry Men.
 Prepar'd I am to suffer with Content,
 The worst that canc'ring Malice can invent :
 Which is no more than to my Lord befeel,
 To *Suffer* Evil things for *Doing* well.

Bona agere, & Mala pati, Regium est.

To suffer Evil, for Well-doing, brings
 The Sufferer to share Renown with Kings.

After I had, in the foregoing POEM, somewhat eased my Spirit of that ; which, for sometime, had lain as a Load upon me : I breathed forth the following HYMN to God, in Acknowledgment of his great Goodness to me, Profession of my grateful Love to Him ; and Supplication to Him, for the Continuance of his Kindness to me, in Preserving me from the Snares of the Enemy, and Keeping me faithful unto Himself.

Thee, thee alone, O God, I fear,
 In thee do I confide ;
 Thy Presence is to me more dear
 Than all things else beside.
 Thy Vertue, Power, Life, and Light,
 Which in my Heart do shine,
 Are the Chief Objects in my sight :
 O make them always mine !
 Thy matchless Love constrains my Life,
 Thy Life constrains my Love,
 To be to Thee as chaste a Wife
 As is the Turtle-Dove
 To her elect, espoused Mate,
 Whom she will not forsake,
 Nor can be brought to violate
 The Bond she once did make ;
 Just so my soul doth cleave to thee,
 As to her only Head,
 With whom she longs conjoin'd to be
 In Bond of Marriage-Bed.
 But, ah, alas ! her little Fort
 Is compassed about ;
 Her foes about her thick resort,
 Within and eke without.
 How numerous are they now grown
 How wicked their Intent !
 O let thy mighty Power be shown,
 Their Mischief to prevent !
 They make Assaults on ev'ry side,
 But Thou stand'st in the gap ;

Their Batt'ring-Rams make Breaches wide,
 But still thou mak'st them up.
 Sometimes they use alluring Wiles
 To draw into their pow'r.
 And sometimes weep, like *Crocodiles* ;
 But all is to devour.
 Thus they beset my feeble Heart
 With Fraud, Deceit, and Guile,
 Alluring her from thee to start,
 And Thy pure Rest defile.
 But, oh ! the Breathing and the Moan,
 The Sighings of the Seed,
 The Groanings of the Grieved One,
 Do Sorrows in me breed.
 And that Immortal, Holy Birth,
 The Off-spring of thy Breath
 (To whom thy Love brings Life and Mirth,
 As doth thy Absence, Death) ;
 That Babe, that Seed, that panting Child,
 Which cannot thee forsake,
 In fear to be again beguil'd,
 Doth Supplication make :
 O suffer not thy Chosen One,
 Who puts her Trust in thee,
 And hath made thee her Choice alone,
 Ensnar'd again to be.

Bridewell, London, 1662.

In this Sort did I spend some leisure Hours
 during my Confinement in *Bridewell* especially
 after our Return from *Newgate* thither, when
 we had more Liberty, and more Opportunity
 and Room for Retirement and Thought. For,
 as the Poet said,

Carmina Scribentes Secessum & Otia quarunt.

They who would write in Measure,
 Retire, where they may Stillness have and Leisure.

Wishes

O that mine Eye might closed be,
To what becomes not me to see!
That Deafness might possess mine Ear,
To what concerns me not to hear!
That Truth my Tongue might always try,
From ever speaking foolishly!
That by each word, each deed, each thought
Glory may to my God be brought!
But what are Wishes! Lord, mine Eye
On thee is fixed, to thee I cry;
I purge out all my drops, my sin:
Make me more white than snow, within!
Wash Lord, & purify my heart,
And make it clean in every part;
And when 'tis clean, Lord keep it too:
For that is more than I can do.

Thomas Ellwood

FACSIMILE OF WRITING AND SIGNATURE OF THOMAS ELLWOOD.

And this Privilege we enjoyed by the Indulgence of our Keeper, whose Heart God disposed to Favour us. So that both the Master and his Porter were very civil and kind to us, and had been so indeed all along. For when we were shut up before, the Porter would readily let some of us go Home in an Evening, and stay at Home till next Morning; which was a great Conveniency to Men of Trade and Business: which I being free from, forbore asking for my self, that I might not hinder others.

This he observed, and asked me when I meant to ask to go out. I told him I had not much Occasion nor Desire, yet at some time or other, perhaps, I might have: but when I had I would ask him but once, and if he then denied me, I would ask him no more.

After we were come back from *Newgate*, I had a Desire to go thither again, to visit my *Friends* who were Prisoners there, more especially my dear Friend (and Father in *Christ*), *Edward Burrough*, who was then a Prisoner, with many *Friends* more, in that Part of *Newgate* which was then called *Justice-Hall*. Whereupon, the Porter coming in my way, I asked him to let me go out for an Hour or two, to see some *Friends* of mine that Evening.

He, to enhance the Kindness, made it a matter of some difficulty, and would have me stay till another Night. I told him I would be at a Word with him: for, as I had told him before, that if he denied me I would ask him no more, so he should find I would keep to it.

He was no sooner gone out of my Sight but I espied his Master crossing the Court. Wherefore, stepping to him, I asked him, If he was willing to let me go out for a little while, to see some Friends of mine that Evening. Yes, said he, *very willingly*; and thereupon away walked I to *Newgate*, where having spent the Evening among *Friends*, I returned in good time.

Under this easie Restraint we lay till the Court sate at the *Old-Baily* again: And then, whether it was that the Heat of the Storm was somewhat abated, or by what other means Providence wrought it, I know not, we were called to the Bar, and, without further Question, discharged.

Whereupon we returned to *Bridewell* again, and having raised some monies among us, and therewith gratified both the Master and his Porter for their Kindness to us, we spent sometime in a solemn Meeting, to return our thankful Acknowledgment to the LORD, both for His Preservation of us in Prison and Deliverance of us out of it; and then taking a solemn Farewel of each other, we departed with Bag and Baggage. And I took care to return my Hammack to the Owner, with due Acknowledgement of his great Kindness in lending it me.

Being now at Liberty, I visited more generally my Friends that were still in Prison, and more particularly my Friend and Benefactor *William Penington*, at his House: and then went to wait upon my Master *Milton*, with whom yet I could not propose to enter upon my inter-

mitted Studies until I had been in *Buckinghamshire*, to visit my worthy Friends *Isaac Penington* and his Virtuous Wife, with other Friends in that Country.

Thither therefore I betook my self, and the Weather being Frosty, and the Ways by that means clean and good, I walked it thorow in a Day, and was received by my Friends there, with such Demonstration of hearty Kindness as made my Journey very easie to me.

I had spent in my Imprisonment that Twenty Shillings which I had received of *William Penington*, and Twenty of the Fourty which had been sent me from *Mary Penington* and had the Remainder then about me. That therefore I now returned to her, with due Acknowledgement of her Husband's and her great Care of me, and Liberality to me in the time of my Need. She would have had me kept it. But I beg'd of her to accept it from me again, since it was the Redundancy of their Kindness, and the other Part had answered the Occasion for which it was sent: and my Importunity prevailed.

I intended only a Visit hither, not a Continuance; and therefore purposed, after I had staid a few Days, to return to my Lodging and former Course in *London*, but Providence ordered it otherwise.

Isaac Penington had at that time two Sons and one Daughter (all then very young) of whom the Eldest Son (*John Penington*) and the daughter (*Mary*, the Wife of *Daniel Wharley*)*

* See Appendix: Biographical Notes.

are yet living at the writing of this. And being himself both Skilful and Curious in *Pronunciation*, he was very desirous to have them well grounded in the *Rudiments of the English Tongue*: to which End he had sent for a Man out of *Lancashire*, (whom, upon enquiry, he had heard of), who was undoubtedly the most accurate *English Teacher* that ever I met with, or have heard of. His Name was *Richard Bradley*. But as he pretended no higher than the *English Tongue*, and had led them, by *Grammar Rules*, to the highest Improvement they were capable of in that, he had then taken Leave of them, and was gone up to *London*, to Teach an *English School of Friends'* Children there.

This put my Friend to a fresh straight. He had sought for a New Teacher to instruct his Children in the *Latin Tongue*, as the Old had done in the *English*: but had not yet found one. Wherefore one Evening, as we sate together by the Fire in his Bed-Chamber (which for want of Health, he kept), He asked me (his Wife being by) *If I would be so kind to him as to stay a while with him till he could hear of such a man as he aimed at; and in the mean time enter his Children in the Rudiments of the Latin Tongue.*

This question was not more unexpected than surprizing to me, and the more, because it seemed directly to thwart my former Purpose and Undertaking, of endeavouring to improve my self by following my Studies with my Master *Milton*, which this would give at least

a present Diversion from ; and for how long I could not foresee.

But the Sense I had of the manifold Obligations I lay under to these worthy Friends of mine, shut out all Reasonings, and disposed my mind to an absolute Resignation of their Desire, that I might testify my Gratitude by a Willingness to do them any friendly Service that I could be capable of.

And tho' I questioned my Ability to carry on that Work to its due Height and Proportion, yet as that was not proposed, but an Initiation only, by *Accidence* into *Grammar* : I consented to the proposal as a present expedient (till a more qualified Person should be found), without further Treaty or mention of Terms between us than that of mutual Friendship. And to render this Digression from my own Studies the less uneasy to my Mind, I recollected (and often thought of) that Rule in *Lilly* :

*Qui docet indoctos, licet indoctissimus esset,
Ipse brevi reliquis doctior esse queat.*

He that the unlearned doth teach may quickly be
More learned than they, though most unlearned he.

With this Consideration I undertook this Province, and left it not until I married : which was not till the Year 1669, near Seven Years from the time I came thither. In which time, having the Use of my Friends Books, as well as of my own, I spent my leisure Hours much in Reading, not without some improvement to my self in my private Studies : which (with

the good Success of my Labours bestowed on the Children, and the Agreeableness of Conversation which I found in the Family) rendered my Undertaking more Satisfactory, and my Stay there more easie to me.

But, alas ! not many Days (not to say Weeks) had I been there, e're we were almost overwhelmed with Sorrow, for the unexpected Loss of *Edward Burrough*, who was justly very dear to us all.

This not only good, but Great-good Man, by a long and close Confinement in *Newgate*, through the Cruel Malice and Malicious Cruelty of *Richard Brown*, was taken away by hasty Death, to the unutterable Grief of very many, and unspeakable Loss to the CHURCH of CHRIST in general.

The particular Obligation I had to him as the immediate Instrument of my Convinement, and high Affection for him resulting therefrom, did so deeply affect my Mind that it was some pretty time before my Passion could prevail to Express itself in Words : so true I found those of the *Tragædian* :

*Cura leves loquuntur,
Ingentes stupent.*

Light Grievs break forth, and easily get vent,
Great Ones are, thro' Amazement, closely pent.

At length, my MUSE, not bearing to be any longer mute, brake forth in the following ACROSTIC which she called

A PATHETIC ELEGY ON THE DEATH OF THAT DEAR AND
FAITHFUL SERVANT OF GOD,

EDWARD BURROUGH,

Who died the 14th of the Twelfth Month, 1662.

And thus she introduceth it :

HOW long shall Grief lie smother'd ? Ah ! how long
Shall Sorrow's Signet seal my silent Tongue ?
How long shall Sighs me suffocate ? and make
My lips to quiver and my Heart to ache ?
How long shall I with Pain suppress my Cries,
And seek for Holes to wipe my wat'ry Eyes ?
Why may not I, by sorrow thus oppress,
Pour forth my Grief into another's Breast ?
If that be true which once was said by one,
That *He mourns truly who doth Mourn alone* : *
Then may I truly say, My Grief is true,
Since it hath yet been known to very few.
Nor is it now mine Aim to make it known
To those to whom these Verses may be shown ;
But to Assuage my Sorrow-swollen Heart,
Which Silence caus'd to taste so deep of Smart.
This is my End, that so I may prevent
The Vessel's Bursting by a timely vent.

*Quis talia fando
Temperet à Lacrymis !*

Who can forbear, when such things spoke he hears,
His Grave to Water with a Flood of Tears ?

E cho ye Woods : resound ye hollow Places,
L et Tears and Paleness cover all Men's Faces.
L et Groans, like Claps of Thunder, pierce the Air,
W hile I the Cause of my just Grief declare.
O that mine Eyes could like the Streams of Nile,
O 'erflow their watery banks ; and thou mean while
D rink in my trickling Tears, O thirsty Ground ;
S o might'st thou henceforth fruitfuller be found.

* Ille dolet verè qui sine teste dolet.

Lament, my Soul, Lament ; thy Loss is deep,
 And all that Sion love sit down and weep,
 Mourn, O ye Virgins ; And let Sorrow be
 Each Damsel's Dowry ; And (alas, for me !)
 N'er let my Sobs and Sighings have an End,
 Till I again embrace m' ascended Friend ;
 And till I feel the Virtue of his Life
 To Console me, and Repress my Grief :
 Infuse into my Heart the Oil of Gladness
 Once more, and by its strength remove that Sadness
 Now pressing down my Spirit, and Restore
 Fully that Joy I had in him before ;
 Of whom a Word I fain would stammer forth,
 Rather to ease my Heart than show his Worth :
 His Worth, my Grief, which words too shallow are
 In Demonstration fully to declare,
 Sighs, Sobs, my best Interpreters now are.
 Envy begone ; black Momus quit the place ;
 N'er more, Zoilus, shew thy wrinkled Face,
 Draw near, ye bleeding Hearts, whose Sorrows are
 Equal with mine ; in him ye had like Share,
 Add all your Losses up, and ye shall see
 Remainder will be nought but *Woe is me*.
 Endeared Lambs, ye that have the white Stone,
 Do know full well his Name—*It is your own*,
 Eternitiz'd be that right-worthy Name ;
 Death hath but kill'd his Body, not his Fame,
 Which in it Brightness shall for ever dwell,
 And, like a Box of Ointment, sweetly smell,
 Righteousness was his Robe ; bright Majesty
 Decked his Brow ; His Look was Heavenly,
 Bold was he in his Master's Quarrel, and
 Undaunted ; Faithful to his Lord's Command.
 Requiting Good for Ill : Directing all
 Right in the Way that leads out of the Fall,
 Open and free to ev'ry thirsty Lamb ;
 Unspotted, pure, clean, holy, without Blame.
 Glory, Light, Splendor, Lustre, was his Crown.
 Happy his Change to him ; The Loss our own,

Unica post Cineres Virtus veneranda beatos Efficit.

*Virtue alone which Rev'rence ought to have,
Doth make Men happy, e'en beyond the Grave.*

While I had thus been breathing forth my Grief,
In hopes thereby to get me some Relief,
I heard, methought, his Voice say, *Cease to mourn :*
I Live ; and though the Vail of Flesh once worn
Be now stript off, dissolv'd, and laid aside,
My Spirit's with thee, and shall so abide.
This satisfy'd me ; Down I threw my Quill :
Willing to be resign'd to God's pure Will,

Having discharged this Duty to the Memory of my deceased Friend, I went on in my new Province, Instructing my little Pupils in the Rudiments of the Latin *Tongue*, to the mutual Satisfaction of both their Parents and my self. As soon as I had gotten a little Money in my Pocket (which as a *Premium* without Compact I received from them) I took the first Opportunity to return to my Friend *William Penington* the Money which he had so kindly furnished me with in my need, at the time of my Imprisonment in *Bridewell*, with a due Acknowledgement of my Obligation to him for it. He was not at all forward to receive it, so that I was fain to press it upon him.

While thus I remained in this Family, various Suspicions arose in the Minds of some concerning me with respect to *Mary Penington's* fair Daughter *Guli*. For she having now arrived at a Marriageable Age, and being in all respects a very desirable Woman (whether regard was had to her outward Person, which wanted

nothing to render her completely Comely: or to the Endowments of her mind, which were every way Extraordinary and highly Obliging, or to her outward Fortune, which was fair (and which with some hath not the last nor the least place in Consideration): she was openly and secretly sought and solicited by many, and some of them almost of every Rank and Condition: Good and Bad, Rich and Poor, Friend and Foe. To whom, in their respective turns (till he at length came for whom she was reserved) she carried her self with so much evenness of Temper, such courteous Freedom; guarded with the strictest Modesty; that as it gave Encouragement or ground of Hopes to none, so neither did it administer any matter of Offence or just Cause of Complaint to any. But such as were thus engaged for themselves or desirous to make themselves Advocates for others, could not, I observed, but look upon me with an Eye of Jealousie and Fear, that I would improve the Opportunities I had by frequent and familiar Conversation with her, to my own Advantage, in working my self into her good Opinion and Favour, to the Ruin of their Pretences.

According therefore, to the several Kinds and Degrees of their Fears of me, they suggested to her Parents their ill Surmises against me.

Some stuck not to question the Sincerity of my Intentions, in Coming at first among the *Quakers*, urging with a *why may it not be so? That the Desire and Hopes of obtaining, by that means, so fair a Fortune might be the prime*

and chief Inducement to me, to thrust my self amongst that People? But this Surmise could find no place with those worthy Friends of mine (her Father in Law and her Mother), who, besides the clear Sense and sound Judgment they had in themselves, knew very well upon what Terms I came among them, how straight and hard the Passage was to me, how contrary to all worldly Interest (which lay fair another way), how much I had suffered from my Father for it, and how regardless I had been of Attempting or seeking any thing of that Nature in these three or four Years that I had been amongst them.

Some others, measuring me by the Propensity of their own Inclinations, concluded I would Steal her, run away with her, and Marry her; which they thought I might be the more easily induced to do, from the advantageous Opportunities I frequently had of riding and walking abroad with her, by Night as well as by Day, without any other Company than her Maid. For so great indeed was the Confidence that her Mother had in me, that she thought her Daughter safe if I was with her, even from the Plots and Designs that others had upon her. And so Honourable were the Thoughts she entertained concerning me, as would not suffer her to admit a Suspicion that I could be capable of so much Baseness, as to betray the Trust she had with so great Freedom reposed in me.

I was not Ignorant of the various Fears which filled the jealous Heads of some concerning me, neither was I so stupid, nor so divested of

all Humanity, as not to be sensible of the real and innate Worth and Vertue which adorned that excellent Dame, and attracted the Eyes and Hearts of so many, with the greatest Impor-tunity to seek and solicit her: nor was I so devoid of Natural Heat, as not to feel some Sparklings of Desire, as well as others. But the force of TRUTH and Sense of Honour sup-press whatever would have risen beyond the Bounds of fair and vertuous Friendship. For I easily foresaw that if I should have attempted anything, in a dishonourable way, by Force or Fraud, upon her, I should have thereby brought a Wound upon my own Soul, a foul Scandal upon my Religious Profession, and an infamous Stain upon mine Honour: either of which was far more dear unto me than my Life. Wherefore, having observed how some others had befool'd themselves, by misconstruing her common Kindness (expressed in an innocent, open, free, and familiar Conversation, springing from the abundant Affability, Courtesy, and Sweetness of her natural Temper), to be the Effect of a singular Regard and peculiar Affection to them, I resolved to shun the Rock, on which I had seen so many run and split; and remembring that saying of the POET,

Felix quem faciunt aliena Pericula cautum,

Happy's He
Whom others Dangers wary make to be,

I governed myself in a free yet respectful Carriage towards her, that I thereby both preserved a



GULIELMA PENN.

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fair Reputation with my Friends and Enjoyed as much of her Favour and Kindness, in a virtuous and firm Friendship, as was fit for her to shew or for me to seek.

Thus leading a quiet and contented Life, I had Leisure sometimes to write a Copy of Verses on one Occasion or another, as the *Poetick Vein* naturally opened, without taking pains to Polish them. Such was this which follows, occasioned by the sudden Death of some lusty People in their full Strength :

Est VITA caduca.

As is the fragrant Flower in the Field,
Which in the Spring a pleasant Smell doth yield,
And lovely Sight, but soon is withered ;
So's MAN : to Day alive, to Morrow dead.

And as the Silver-dew-bespangled grass,
Which in the Morn bedecks its Mother's face :
But e're the scorching Summer's past looks brown,
Or by the Syth is suddainly cut down.

Just such is Man, who vaunts himself to day,
Decking himself in all his best Array ;
But in the midst of all his Bravery
Death rounds him in the Ear, *Friend, thou must Dye.*

Or like a Shadow in a Sunny day,
Which in a moment vanisheth away ;
Or like a smile or Spark,—such is the Span
Of Life, allow'd this *Microcosm*, MAN.

Cease then vain Man to boast : for this is true,
Thy brightest Glory's as the Morning Dew,
Which disappears when first the rising Sun
Displays his Beams above the Horizon.

As the consideration of the *Uncertainty* of *HUMANE LIFE* drew the foregoing Lines from me, so the Sense I had of the *FOLLY* of *MANKIND*, in mis-spending the little Time allow'd them in Evil Ways and vain Sports, led me more particularly to trace the several Courses wherein the Generality of Men run, unprofitably at best, if not to their Hurt and Ruin. Which I introduced with that Axiom of the *Preacher*, *Eccles. I. 2.*

ALL IS VANITY.

*See here the State of Man as in a Glass,
And how the Fashion of this World doth pass.*

SOME in a *Tavern* spend the longest Day,
While others *Hawk* and *Hunt* the Time away.
Here one his *Mistress Courts* ; Another *Dances* ;
A Third incites to *Lust* by wanton *Glances*.
This wastes the day in *Dressing* ; Th' other seeks
To set fresh Colours on her with' red *Cheeks* ;
That, when the Sun declines, some *dapper Spark*
May take her to *Spring Garden* or the *Park*.
Plays some frequent, and *Balls* ; Others their Prime
Consume at *Dice* ; some *Bowl* away their Time.
With *Cards* some wholly captivated are :
From *Tables* others scarce an Hour can spare.
One to soft *Musick* mancipates his Ear ;
At *Shovel-board* another spends the Year.
The *Pall-Mall* this accounts the only Sport ;
That keeps a *Racket* in the *Tennis-Court*.
Some strain their very Eyes and Throats with' *Singing*,
While others strip their Hands and Backs at *Ringing*.
Another sort with greedy Eyes are waiting
Either at *Cock-pit* or some great *Bull-baiting*.
This dotes on *Running-horses* : T'other Fool
Is never well but in the *Fencing-School*.

Wrecking and Fitchall, Nurture, Prison-house,
 Among the rural Clowns find each a place.
 Nay, *Joan* unwash'd will leave her *Milking-Pail*
 To Dance at *May-Pole*, or a *Wassow-fair*.
 Thus Wallow most in *Seasonal Delight*.
 As if their day should never have a Night,
 Till Nature's pale-fac'd serjeant them surprise,
 And as the tree then falls, just so it lies.

Now look at home, thou who these lines dost Read,
 See which of all these Paths thy self dost tread,
 And e're it be too late that Path forsake,
 Which, followed, will thee Miserable make.

After I had thus enumerated some of the
 many Vanities, in which the Generality of Men
 mis-spent their time, I sang the following *ODE*
 in Praise of *VERTUE* :—

WEAALTH, Beauty, Pleasures, Honours, all adieu :
 I value *Vertue* far, far more than you.
 Y're all but Toys
 For Girls and Boys
 To play withal, at best deceitful Joys.

She lives for ever : ye are transitory,
 Her Honour is unstained ; but your Glory
 Is meer Deceit—
 A painted Bait,
 Hung out for such as sit at Folly's gate.

True Peace, Content, and Joy on her attend ;
 You (on the contrary) your Forces bend
 To blear Men's Eyes,
 With Fopperies ;
 Which Fools Embrace, but Wiser Men Despise.

About this time my Father, resolving to sell
 his *Estate*, and having reserved for his own use
 such parts of his Household-Goods as he thought

fit, not willing to take upon himself the Trouble of selling the Rest, gave them unto me. Whereupon I went down to *Crowel*, and having before given Notice there, and thereabouts, that I intended a Public Sale of them, I Sold them, and thereby put some Money into my Pocket. Yet I Sold such things only as I judged Useful, leaving the Pictures and Armour (of which there was some store there) unsold.

Not long after this, my Father sent for me to come to him at *London* about some Business, which, when I came there, I understood was to joyn with him in the Sale of his Estate : Which the Purchaser required for his own Satisfaction and Safety, I being then the next Heir to it in Law. And although I might probably have made some Advantageous Terms for my self by standing off, yet when I was satisfied by Counsel that there was no Entail upon it, or Right of Reversion to me, but that he might Lawfully dispose of it as he pleased, I readily joyned with him in the Sale, without asking or having the least Gratuity, or Compensation, no, not so much as the Fee I had given to Counsel, to secure me from any Danger in doing it.

There having been some time before this a very severe Law made against the *Quakers** by Name, and more particularly Prohibiting our Meetings under the sharpest Penalties of *Five Pounds* for the First Offence so called, *Ten Pounds* for the Second, and *Banishment*

* Conventicle Act, passed May, 1664.

for the Third ; under Pain of *Felony* for Escaping or Returning without *License*. Which Law was looked upon to have been procured by the *Bishops*, in order to bring us to a Conformity to their way of *Worship* : I wrote a few Lines in way of *Dialogue* between a *Bishop* and a *Quaker*, which I called

CONFORMITY, PREST AND REPREST.

- B. *What ! You are one of them that do deny
To yield Obedience by Conformity.*
Q. Nay : We desire Conformable to be.
B. *But unto what ?* Q. The Image of the Son.*
B. *What's that to us ! We'll have conformity
Unto our form.* Q. Then we shall ne'r have done.
For, if your fickle Minds should alter, we
Should be to seek a New Conformity.
Thus, who to Day Conform to *Prelacy*,
To Morrow may Conform to *Popery*.
But take this for an Answer, *Bishop*, we
Cannot Conform either to Them or Thee ;
For while to *Truth* your Forms are opposite,
Whoe'r Conforms thereto doth not aright.
B. *We'll make such Knaves as you Conform, or lie
Confin'd in Prisons till ye Rot and Die.*
Q. Well, gentle *Bishop*, I may live to see,
For all thy Threats, a Check to Cruelty ;
And thee, Rewarded, with thy envious Crew,
According as unto your Works is due :
But in the meantime, I, for my Defence,
Betake me to my Fortress, *PATIENCE*.

No sooner was this cruel Law made, but it was put in Execution, with great Severity. The sense whereof, working strongly on my Spirit, made me Cry earnestly to the Lord, that

* Rom. 8. 19.

he would Arise and set up his Righteous Judgment in the Earth for the Deliverance of his People from all their Enemies, both Inward and Outward. And in these Terms I uttered it :

AWAKE, awake, O Arm o'th' Lord, awake,
 Thy Sword up take :
 Cast what would thine forgetful of thee make
 Into the Lake.
 Awake, I say, O mighty *Jah*, awake
 Make all the World before Thy Presence quake,
 Not only Earth, but Heaven also shake.

Arise, arise, O *Jacob's* God, arise,
 And hear the Cries
 Of ev'ry Soul which in Distress now lies,
 And to thee Flies.
 Arise, I say, O *Israel's* Hope, arise ;
 Set free thy Seed, Opprest by Enemies.
 Why should they over it still Tyrannize ?

Make Speed, make Speed, O *Israel's* Help, make Speed,
 In time of Need ;
 For Evil Men have wickedly decreed
 Against thy Seed.
 Make Speed, I pray, O mighty God, make Speed ;
 Let all Thy *Lambs* from Savage *Wolves* be freed,
 That fearless on thy Mountain they may Feed.

Ride on, Ride on, thou Valiant Man of Might,
 And put to Flight
 Those sons of *Belial* who do Despight
 To the Upright,
 Ride on, I say, Thou Champion, and Smite
 Thine and thy People's en'mies, with such Might
 That none may dare 'gainst thee or thine to Fight.

Although the Storm raised by the Act for
Banishment fell with the greatest Weight and

Force upon some other parts (as at *London*, *Hertford*, &c.,) yet we were not, in *Buckinghamshire*, wholly exempted therefrom, for a part of that Shower reached us also.

For a *Friend of Amersham* (whose Name was *Edward Perot* or *Parret*) departing this Life and Notice being given that his Body would be Buried there on such a Day (which was the First Day of the Fifth Month,* 1665) the *Friends* of the adjacent parts of the Country resorted pretty generally to the Burial: So that there was a fair Appearance of *Friends* and *Neighbours*, the Deceased having been well beloved by both.

After we had spent some time together in the House (*Morgan Watkins*,† who at that time happ'ned to be at *Isaac Penington's*, being with us), the Body was taken up and born on *Friends'* Shoulders along the Street in order to be carried to the Burying-Ground, which was at the Towns End: being part of an *Orchard* belonging to the Deceased; which he in his Life time had appointed for that Service.

It so happened that one *Ambrose Benett*, a *Barister* at *Law* and a *Justice* of the Peace for that County, Riding through the town that Morning on his way to *Alesbury*, was by some ill disposed Person or other Informed that there was a *Quaker* to be Buried there that Day, and that most of the *Quakers* in the Country were come thither to the Burial.

* New style, July.

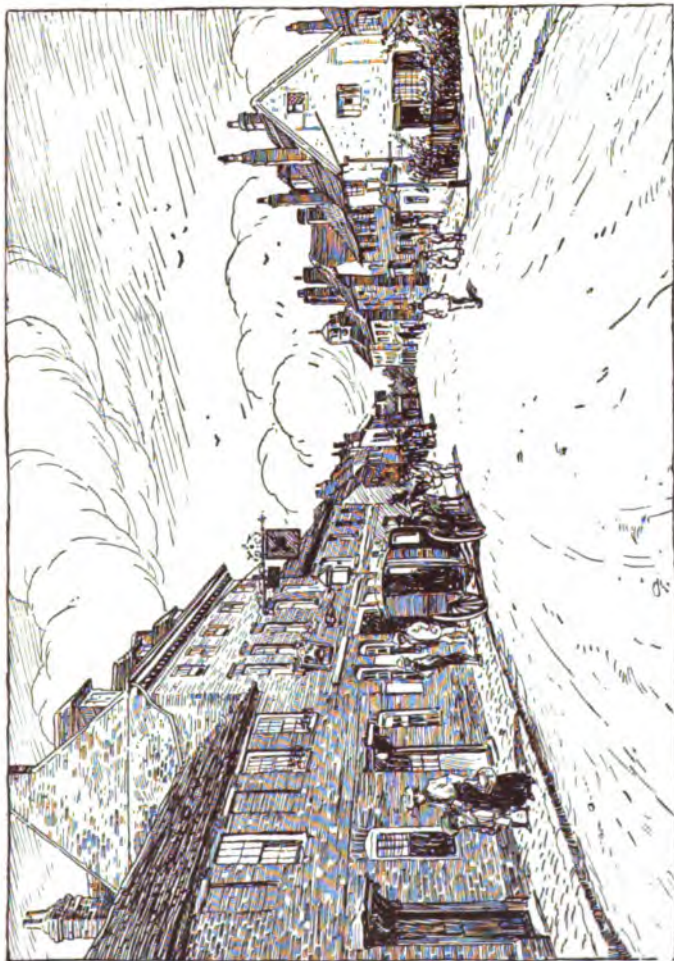
† See Appendix: Biographical Notes.

Upon this he set up his Horses and Staid ; and when we (not knowing any thing of his Design against us) went Innocently forward to perform our Christian Duty for the Interrment of our *Friend*, He rushed out of his Inn upon us with the Constables and a Rabble of Rude Fellows whom he had gathered together, and having his drawn Sword in his Hand, Struck one of the Foremost of the Bearers with it, Commanding them to set down the Coffin. But the *Friend* who was so stricken (whose Name was *Thomas Dell**), being more concerned for the safety of the Dead Body than his own, lest it should fall from his Shoulder, and any Indecency thereupon follow, held the Coffin fast : Which the *Justice* observing, and being enraged that his Word (how Unjust soever) was not forthwith Obeyed, set his Hand to the Coffin, and with a forcible Thrust threw it off from the Bearers Shoulders, so that it fell to the Ground in the midst of the Street, and there we were forced to leave it.

For immediately thereupon, the *Justice* giving Command for the Apprehending us, the Constables with the Rabble fell on us, and drew some and drove others into the Inn, giving thereby an Opportunity to the rest to walk away.

Of those that were thus taken I was one. And being, with many more, put into a Room under a Guard, we were kept there till another *Justice* (called Sir *Thomas Clayton*,* whom

* See Appendix : Biographical Notes.



AMBERSHAM.

The Griffin Inn from which Ambrose Bennett rushed forth and stopped the funeral of Edward Perrot is seen on the left.

Justice *Benett* had sent for to joyn with him in Committing us) was come, And then, being called forth severally before them, they picked out Ten of us, and Committed us to *Alesbury* Goal, for what neither we nor they knew: For we were not Convicted of having either done or said anything which the Law could take hold of: For they took us up in the open Street (the King's Highway), not doing any Unlawful Act, but peaceably Carrying and Accompanying the Corps of our Deceased *Friend*, to Bury it. Which they would not suffer us to do, but caused the Body to lie in the open Street, and in the Cart-way, so that all the Travellers that passed by (whether *Horse-Men*, *Coaches*, *Carts*, or *Waggons*), were fain to break out of the Way, to go by it, that they might not drive over it, until it was almost Night. And then, having caused a grave to be made in the *Unconsecrated* part (as it is accounted) of that which is called the *Church-Yard*, they forcibly took the Body from the Widow (whose Right and Property it was) and Buried it there.

When the *Justices* had delivered us Prisoners to the *Constable*, it being then late in the Day, which was the Seventh day of the Week, He (not willing to go so far as *Alesbury*) (Nine long Miles), with us that Night, nor to put the Town to the Charge of keeping us there that Night, and the First Day and Night following) Dismissed us upon our *Parole* to come to him again at a set Hour on the Second Day Morning: Whereupon we all went home to our respective Habitations, and coming to him punctually according

to Promise, were by him (without Guard) Conducted to the Prison.

The Gaoler (whose Name was *Nathaniel Birch*) had not long before behaved himself very Wickedly, with great Rudeness and Cruelty, to some of our *Friends* of the lower side of the County,* whom he (Combining with the Clerk of the Peace, whose Name was *Henry Wells*) had contrived to get into his Goal, and after they were legally Discharged in Court, detained them in Prison, using great Violence, and shutting them up close in the Common Goal among the Felons, because they would not give him his Unrighteous Demand of *Fees*, which they were the more straightened in from his Treacherous Dealing with them. And they having, through Suffering, maintained their Freedom and obtained their Liberty, we were the more concerned to keep what they had so hardly gained, and therefore resolved not to make any Contract or Terms for either *Chamber-Rent* or *Fees*, but to Demand a *Free* Prison, which we did.

When we came in, the Goaler was Ridden out, to Wait on the Judges (who came in that Day to begin the Assize), and his Wife was somewhat at a Loss how to deal with us ; But being a cunning Woman, she treated us with great Appearance of Courtesy, offering us the Choice of all her Rooms ; and when we asked upon what Terms, she still refer'd us to her Husband, telling us she did not doubt but that he would

* North Bucks was known as the "lower side" of the country, and South Bucks, either as a more hilly district, or as near to London as the "upper side."

One y^e copy of y^e Warrant at Aylesbury for the
 County of Bucks.

Whereas Isaac Penington, John Banier, John Hunt,
 Thomas Ellwood, Thomas Lane, William Wright,
 Thomas Bell, Joseph Redd, Leonard Stornes and
 Ralph Crompton have been charged before us two of
 his Ma^{ties} Justices of y^e Peace in the County of
 unlawfully assembling themselves together in a
 pretence of a religious worship not authorized by
 y^e laws of this land nor allowed by y^e Statutes in
 pretence of y^e Church of England and have refused
 to give recognizances to appear before his Ma^{ties}
 Justices of Assize for y^e County to answer y^e
 premises: These are therefore in his Ma^{ties} names
 be we to command you to appear & keep in safe
 custody y^e bodies of y^e said persons till they shall
 be thence delivered by due course of law given
 under my hand & seal this first day of July in y^e year
 of our Lord 1665.

Thomas Chilton
 Ambrose Benet

WARRANT OF COMMITMENT OF ISAAC PENINGTON AND THOMAS
 ELLWOOD TO AYLESBURY GAOL, 1665.

(Reproduced by kind permission of Sir Richard Tangye.)

be very Reasonable and Civil to us. Thus she endeavoured to have drawn us to take Possession of some of her Chambers at a venture, and trust to her Husband's kind Usage. But we, who at the Cost of our *Friends* had a Proof of his Kindness, were too wary to be drawn in by the fair Words of a Woman, and therefore told her we would not settle any where till her Husband came home, and then would have a Free Prison, wheresoever he put us.

Accordingly, Walking all together into the Court of the Prison, in which was a Well of very good Water, and having before hand sent to a *Friend* in the Town (a Widow Woman, whose Name was *Sarah Lambarn**) to bring us some *Bread* and *Cheese*, we sate down upon the Ground round about the Well, and when we had Eaten, we Drank of the Water out of the Well.

Our great Concern was for our Friend *Isaac Penington*, because of the Tenderness of his Constitution : But he was so lively in his Spirit, and so cheerfully given up to Suffer, that he rather encouraged us, than needed any Encouragement from us.

In this Posture the Goaler, when he came home, found us, and having before he came to us consulted his Wife, and by her understood on what Terms we stood : When he came to us he hid his Teeth, and putting on a shew of Kindness, seemed much troubled that we should sit there abroad, especially his old Friend Mr.

* Imprisoned herself for a long time at Aylesbury in 1659.—Besse.

Penington, and thereupon invited us to come and take what Rooms in his House we pleased. We asked upon what Terms : letting him know withal that we determined to have a Free Prison.

He, like the *Sun* and *Wind* in a *Fable*, that strove which of them should take from the Traveller his Cloak, having (like the *Wind*) tried rough, boisterous, violent Means to our *Friends* before, but in vain : resolved now to imitate the *Sun*, and shine as pleasantly as he could upon us. Wherefore he told us we should *make the Terms our selves, and be as free as we desired : If we thought fit, when we were Released, to give him any thing, he would thank us for it, and if not, he would Demand nothing.*

Upon these Terms we went and disposed our selves, some in the *Dwelling-House*, others in the *Malt-House*, where they chose to be.

During the Assize we were brought before Judge *Morton** (a Sowre Angry Man), who very rudely Reviled us, but would not either hear us or the Cause : but referred the matter to the Two Justices who had Committed us.

They, when the Assize was ended, sent for us to be brought before them at their Inn, and Fined us (as I remember) *Six Shillings Eight Pence* a piece, which we not consenting to pay, they Committed us to Prison again for one Month from that time, on the Act for *Banishment*.

When we had lain there that Month, I (with another) went to the Goaler to Demand our

* See Appendix : Biographical Notes.

Liberty : Which he readily granted, telling us *The Door should be opened when we pleased to go.*

This Answer of his I reported to the rest of my Friends there, and thereupon we raised among us a small Sum of Money, which they put into my Hand for the Goaler : Whereupon I (taking another with me) went to the Goaler with the Money in my Hand, and reminding him of the Terms upon which we accepted the use of his Rooms, I told him, That although we could not pay *Chamber-Rent* or *Fees* : Yet inasmuch as he had now been Civil to us, we were willing to acknowledge it by a small Token and thereupon gave him the Money. He, putting it into his Pocket, said, *I thank you and your Friends for it : and to let you see I take it as a Gift, not a Debt, I will not look on it to see how much it is.*

The Prison Door being then set open for us, we went out, and departed to our respective Homes.

But before I left the Prison, considering one day with my self the different Kinds of Liberty and Confinement, Freedom and Bondage, I took my Pen, and wrote the following *Ænigma* or *Riddle*.

Lo! here a Riddle to the Wise,
In which a Mystery there lies :
Read it, therefore, with that Eye
Which can discern a Mystery.

THE RIDDLE.

*Some Men are Free while they in Prison Lie ;
Others, who ne'r saw Prison, Captives Die.*

CAUTION.

He that can receive it, may ;
He that cannot, Let him stay,
And not be hasty, but suspend
His Judgment till he sees the End.

SOLUTION.

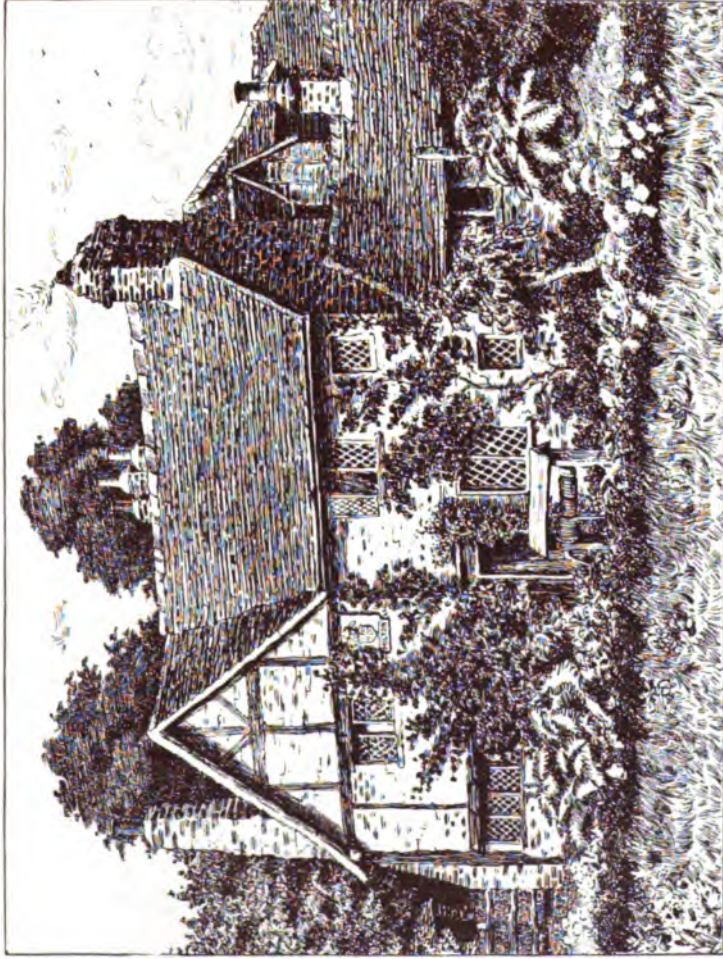
*He only's free indeed that's free from Sin,
And he is safest bound, that's bound therein.*

CONCLUSION.

This is the Liberty I chiefly Prize,
The other, without this, I can despise.

Some little time before I went to *Alesbury* Prison, I was desir'd by my quondam Master, *Milton*, to take a House for him, in the Neighbourhood where I dwelt, that he might go out of the City, for the Safety of himself and his Family, the *Pestilence* then growing hot in *London*. I took a pretty Box for him in *Giles-Chalfont*, a Mile from me ; of which I gave him notice : and intended to have waited on him, and seen him well settled in it ; but was prevented by that Imprisonment.*

* David Masson, Milton's biographer, gives the period of the poet's residence at Chalfont St. Giles as July, 1665, to March 1666. *Paradise Lost* was certainly not written here, but in London. The interest of this visit to Buckinghamshire is emphasised by the fact that the cottage at Chalfont St. Giles is the sole tenement once inhabited by Milton that is now extant. Pilgrims from all parts of the world visit it year by year. The fabric is still in good preservation and on the walls are the arms of the Fleetwood family at one time Lords of the Manor and resident at the Vache. In 1887 it was purchased by public subscription and the interior has been converted into a museum for Milton relics.



MILTON'S "PRETTY BOX," CHALFONT ST. GILES.

But now being released and returned Home, I soon made a Visit to him, to welcome him into the Country.

After some common Discourses had passed between us, he called for a Manuscript of his ; which being brought he delivered to me, bidding me take it home with me, and read it at my Leisure ; and when I had so done, return it to him with my Judgment thereupon.

When I came home, and had set my self to read it, I found it was that Excellent POEM which he entituled *PARADISE LOST*.* After I had, with the best attention, read it through, I made him another Visit, and returned him his Book, with due Acknowledgement of the Favour he had done me in Communicating it to me. He asked me how I liked it and what I thought of it, which I modestly but freely told him : and after some further Discourse about it, I pleasantly said to him, Thou hast said much here of *Paradise lost*, but what hast thou to say of *Paradise found*? He made me no Answer, but sate some time in a Muse ; then brake off that Discourse, and fell upon another Subject.

After the Sickness was over, and the City well cleansed and become safely habitable again, he returned thither. And when afterwards I went to wait on him there (which I seldom failed of doing, whenever my Occasions drew me to *London*) he shewed me his Second POEM, called *PARADISE REGAINED*,† and in a

* Published two years later, August, 1667.

† Published 1671.

pleasant Tone said to me, *This is owing to you : for you put it into my Head, by the Question you put to me at Chalfont ; which before I had not thought of.* But from this Digression I return to the family I then lived in.

We had not been long at home (about a Month perhaps) before *Isaac Penington* was taken out of his House in an Arbitrary manner, by Military Force, and carried Prisoner to *Alesbury* Goal again, where he lay Three Quarters of a Year, with great Hazard of his Life, it being the *Sickness* Year, and the *Plague* being not only in the Town, but in the Goal.

Mean while his Wife and Family were turned out of his House (called the *Grange*, at *Peter's-Chalfont*) by them who had seized upon his Estate. And the Family being by that means broken up, some went one way, others another. *Mary Penington* her self (with her younger Children) went down to her Husband at *Alesbury*. *Guli* (with her Maid), went to *Bristol*, to see her former Maid (*Anne Hersent*) who was Married to a Merchant of that City, whose Name was *Thomas Biss* ; I went to *Alesbury* with the Children ; but not finding the Place agreeable to my Health, I soon left it, and returning to *Chalfont*, took a Lodging, and was dieted in the House of a Friendly Man : and after some time went to *Bristol*, to Conduct *Guli* home.

Mean while *Mary Penington* took Lodgings in a Farm house (called *Bottrels*,* in the Parish

* Remains of this house are still traceable in the residence now standing on the same site.

of *Giles-Chalfont*), where, when we returned from *Bristol*, we found her.

We had been there but a very little time before I was sent to Prison again upon this Occasion. There was, in those times, a Meeting once a Month at the House of *George Salter*,* a Friend, of *Hedgerly*; to which we sometimes went; and *Morgan Watkins* being with us, he and I, with *Guli* and her Maid, and one *Judith Parker* (Wife of Dr. *Parker*, one of the Colledge of *Physicians* at *London*) with a Maiden Daughter of theirs (neither of whom were *Quakers*, but as Acquaintances of *Mary Penington* were with her on a Visit) walked over to that Meeting, it being about the middle of the first month, and the Weather good.

This Place was about a Mile from the House of *Ambrose Benett*,† the Justice who the Summer before had sent me and some other Friends to *Alesbury* Prison, from the Burial of *Edward Parret* of *Amersham*: And he (by what means I know not) getting Notice not only of the Meeting, but (as was supposed) of our being there, came himself to it, and as he came caught up a Stackwood-stick, big enough to have knock't any Man down, and brought it with him, hidden under his Cloak.

* See Appendix: Biographical Notes.

† *Ambrose Benett* lived at *Bulstrode Park*, a large estate bordering the high road from *Uxbridge* to *Beaconsfield*. The estate was afterwards held by the notorious Judge *Jeffreys*, and later by the first Duke of *Portland*. —*The Chalfont Country*, p. 65.

Being come to the House, he stood for a while without the Door and out of Sight, listening to hear what was said, for *Morgan* was then speaking in the Meeting. But certainly he heard very imperfectly, if it was true which we heard he said afterwards among his Companions, as an Argument, that *Morgan* was a *Jesuit*—viz., *That in his Preaching he trolled over his Latin as fluently as ever he heard any one* ; whereas *Morgan* (good Man !) was better Versed in Welch than in *Latin*, which, I suppose, he had never learned : I am sure he did not understand it.

When this Martial Justice (who at *Amersham* had with his drawn Sword struck an unarmed Man, who he knew would not strike again) had now stood some time abroad, on a suddain he rushed in among us, with the Stackwood-stick held up in his Hand, ready to strike, crying out, *Make way there* : and an Ancient Woman not getting soon enough out of his way, he struck her with the Stick, a shrewd Blow over the Breast. Then pressing through the Croud to the place where *Morgan* stood, he plucked him from thence ; and caused so great a Disorder in the Room that it broke the Meeting up : yet would not the People go away, or disperse themselves, but tarried to see what the Issue would be.

Then taking Pen and Paper, he sate down at the Table among us, and asked several of us our Names, which we gave, and he set down in Writing.

Amongst others he asked *Judith Parker* (the Doctor's Wife) what her Name was, which she



Photo by]

FRIENDS' MEETING HOUSE, JORDANS.

[H. J. Haughton, Watford.

readily gave : and thence taking Occasion to discourse him, she so over-mastered him by clear Reason, delivered in fine Language, that he, glad to be rid of her, struck out her Name and Dismist her ; yet did not she remove, but kept her place amongst us.

When he had taken what Number of Names he thought fit, he singled out half a Dozen, whereof *Morgan* was one, I another, One Man more, and three Women : of which the Woman of the House was one, although her Husband then was (and for divers Years before had been) a Prisoner in the *Fleet* for Tythes, and had no body to take care of his Family and Business, but her his Wife.

Us six he committed to *Alesbury-Goal*, Which when the Doctor's Wife heard him read to the Constable, she attacked him again, and having put him in Mind that it was a sickly time, and that the *Pestilence* was reported to be in that Place, she, in handsome Terms, desired him to Consider in time, *how he would Answer the Cry of our Blood, if by his sending us to be shut up in an Infected Place we should lose our Lives there.* This made him alter his Purpose, and by a new *Mittimus* sent us to the *House of Correction* at *Wiccomb*. And although he committed us upon the Act for *Banishment*, which limited a certain time for Imprisonment, yet he, in his *Mittimus*, limited no time, but ordered us to be kept till we should be delivered by due Course of LAW ; so little regardful was he, though a Lawyer, of keeping to the Letter of the Law.

We were committed on the Thirteenth Day of the Month called *March*, 1665, and were kept close Prisoners there till the Seventh Day of the Month called *June*, 1666* which was some Days above Twelve Weeks: and much above what the Act required.

Then were we sent for to the Justice's House, and the rest being Released, *Morgan Watkins* and I were required to find Sureties for our Appearance at the next *Assize*; which we refusing to do, were committed a-new to our old Prison (the *House of Correction* at *Wiccomb*) there to lie until the next *Assizes*: *Morgan* being, in this second *Mittimus*, represented as a *Notorious Offender in Preaching*, and I as being upon the *second Conviction, in order to banishment*. There we lay, till the Five and Twentieth Day of the same Month, and then, by the Favour of the Earl of *Ancram*, being brought before him at his House, we were discharged from the Prison upon our Promise to appear (if at Liberty and in Health) at the *Assizes*. Which we did, and were there discharged by Proclamation.

During my Imprisonment in this Prison, I took my self for an Employment to making of Nets for Kitchen-Service, to boil Herbs, &c., in; which Trade I learned of *Morgan Watkins*, and Selling some and Giving others, I pretty well stocked the *Friends* of that Country with them.

* The Julian Year (O.S.) commenced at the Spring Equinox. Thus the 13th of *March* would be in the old year, 1665, and *June* in the New, 1666.

Though in that Confinement I was not very well suited with Company for Conversation, *Morgan's* natural Temper not being very agreeable to mine : yet we kept a fair and Brotherly Correspondence, as became Friends, Prison-fellows, and Bed-fellows, which we were. And indeed it was a good Time, I think, to us all, for I found it so to me ; the Lord being graciously pleased to visit my Soul with the refreshing Dews of his divine Life, whereby my Spirit was more and more quickened to him, and Truth gained ground in me over the Temptations and Snares of the Enemy. Which frequently raised in my Heart Thanksgivings and Praises unto the Lord. And at one time more especially, the Sense I had of the Prosperity of Truth, and the spreading thereof, filling my Heart with abundant Joy, made my Cup overflow, and the following Lines drop out :—

*For Truth I suffer Bonds, in truth I live,
And unto Truth this Testimony give,
That TRUTH shall over all Exalted be,
And in Dominion Reign for evermore :
The Child's already born that this may see,
Honour, Praise, Glory be to God therefore.*

And underneath thus :

*Tho' Death and Hell should against Truth combine,
Its glory shall through all their Darkness shine.*

This I saw with an Eye of Faith, beyond the reach of Humane Sense. For

*As strong Desire
Draws Objects nigher
In Apprehension than indeed they are ;*

*I, with an eye
That pierced high,
Did thus of Truth's Prosperity declare.*

After we had been discharged at the *Assizes*, I returned to *Isaac Penington's* Family at *Bottrel's* in *Chalfont*, and (as I remember) *Morgan Watkins* with me : leaving *Isaac Penington* a Prisoner in *Alesbury* Goal.

The Lodgings we had in this Farm-House (*Bottrels*) proving too strait and inconvenient for the Family, I took larger and better Lodgings for them in *Berrie-House** at *Amersham*, whither we went at the time called *Michaelmas*, having spent the Summer at the other Place.

Some time after, was that memorable Meeting appointed to be held at *London*, through a divine Opening, in the Motion of Life, in that eminent Servant and Prophet of God, *George Fox*, for the Restoring and bringing in again those who had gone out from Truth, and the Holy Unity of *Friends* therein, by the Means and Ministry of *John Perrot*.†

This Man came pretty early amongst *Friends*, and too early took upon him the Ministerial Office : and being, though little in Person, yet great in Opinion of himself, nothing less would serve him than to go and Convert the Pope : In order whereunto, He (having a better Man

* *Berrie House* is presumably the same as that known to-day as *Bury Farm*, at the *London* end of *Amersham* and at the junction of the road to *Hunger Hill* and *Penn*.

† For further particulars see *Sewel's History*.

than himself, *John Luff*, to accompany him) travelled to *Rome*, Where they had not been long e're they were taken up and clap't into Prison. *Luff* (as I remember) was put in the *Inquisition*, and *Perrot* in their *Bedlam*, or Hospital for Madmen.

Luff died in Prison (not without well-grounded Suspicion of being murdered there), but *Perrot* lay there some time, and now and then sent over an Epistle to be Printed here, written in such an affected and phantastick Stile, as might have induced an indifferent Reader to believe they had suited the Place of his Confinement to his Condition.

After some time, through the Mediation of *Friends* (who hoped better of him than he proved) with some Person of Note and Interest there, he was released, and came back for *England*. And the Report of his great Sufferings there (far greater in Report than in Reality), joined with a singular shew of Sanctity, so far opened the Hearts of many tender and compassionate *Friends* towards him, that it gave him the Advantage of insinuating himself into their Affections and Esteem, and made way for the more ready Propagation of that peculiar Error of his, of *Keeping on the Hat in time of Prayer, as well Publick as private, unless they had an immediate Motion at that time to put it off*.

Now, although I had not the least Acquaintance with this Man not having ever exchanged a Word with him (though I knew him by Sight), nor had I any Esteem for him, for either his Natural Parts or Ministerial Gift, but rather a

Dislike of his Aspect, Preaching, and way of Writing; yet this Error of his being broached in the time of my Infancy and Weakness of Judgment as to Truth (while I lived privately in *London*, and had little Converse with *Friends*), I, amongst the many who were catch't in that Snare, was taken with the Notion, as what then seemed to my weak Understanding, suitable to the Doctrine of a Spiritual Dispensation. And the matter coming to warm Debates, both in Words and Writing, I, in a misguided Zeal, was ready to have entered the Lists of Contention about it: not then seeing what Spirit it proceeded from, and was managed by; nor foreseeing the Disorder and Confusion in Worship which must naturally attend it.

But as I had no Evil Intention, or sinister End in engaging in it, but was simply betrayed by the specious Pretence and Shew of greater Spirituality, the Lord, in tender Compassion to my Soul, was graciously pleased to open my Understanding and give me a clear sight of the Enemies Design in this Work, and drew me off from the Practice of it, and to bear Testimony against it as Occasion offered.

But when that solemn Meeting was appointed at *London* for a Travel in Spirit on behalf of those who had thus gone out, that they might rightly return and be sensibly received into the Unity of the Body again, my spirit rejoiced, and with Gladness of Heart I went to it: as did many more both of City and Country; and with great Simplicity and Humility of Mind

did honestly and openly Acknowledge our Outgoing, and take Condemnation and Shame to ourselves. And some that lived at too remote a Distance in this Nation as well as beyond the Seas, upon Notice given of that Meeting and the intended Service of it, did the like by writing in Letters directed to and openly read in the Meeting, which for that purpose was continued many Days.

Thus in the Motion of Life were the healing Waters stirred, and many through the Virtuous Power thereof restored to Soundness, and indeed not many lost. And though most of those who thus returned, were such as with myself had before renounced the Error and forsaken the Practice: yet did we sensibly find, that Forsaking without Confessing (in Case of public Scandal), was not sufficient, but that an open Acknowledgement (of open offences) as well as Forsaking them, was necessary to the obtaining compleat Remission.

Not long after this, G. F. was moved of the Lord to Travel through the Countries, from County to County, to Advise and Encourage Friends to set up *Monthly* and *Quarterly Meetings*, for the better ordering the Affairs of the Church in taking Care of the Poor, and Exercising a true Gospel-Discipline, for a due Dealing with any that might walk disorderly under our Name, and to see that such as should marry among us, did act fairly and clearly in that respect.*

When he came into this County I was one

* In the Appendix will be found an account of all the visits paid to Buckinghamshire by George Fox.

of the many *Friends* that were with him at the Meeting for that Purpose. And afterwards I travelled with *Guli* and her Maid into the West of *England* to meet him there, and to visit *Friends* in those Parts; and we went as far as *Topsham* in *Devonshire* before, we found him. He had been in *Cornwall*, and was then returning: and came in unexpectedly at *Topsham*, where we were then providing (if he had not then come thither) to have gone that Day towards *Cornwall*. But after he was come to us, we turned back with him through *Devonshire*, *Somersetshire*, and *Dorsetshire*, having generally very good Meetings where he was: and the Work he was chiefly concerned in went on very prosperously and well, without any Opposition or Dislike: save that in the General Meeting of *Friends* in *Dorsetshire*, a quarrelsome Man, who had gone out from *Friends* in *John Perrot's* Business, and had not come rightly in again (but continued in the Practice of keeping on his Hat in time of Prayer, to the great Trouble and Offence of *Friends*) began to Cavil and raise Disputes, which occasioned some Interruption and Disturbance.

Not only *George* and *Alexander Parker** (who was with him) but divers of the ancient *Friends* of that Country, endeavoured to quiet that troublesom Man and make him sensible of his Error: but his unruly Spirit would still be Opposing what was said unto him, and justifying himself in that Practice. This brought a great Weight and Exercise upon me (who sate at a

* See Appendix: Biographical Notes.

Distance in the outward Part of the Meeting): and after I had for some time bore the Burthen thereof, I stood up in the constraining Power of the LORD, and in great tenderness of Spirit declared unto the Meeting, and to that Person more particularly, how it had been with me in that respect; how I had been betrayed into that wrong Practice, how strong I had been therein, and how the LORD had been graciously pleased to shew me the Evil thereof, and recover me out of it.

This coming unexpectedly from me, a young Man, a Stranger, and one who had not inter-meddled with the Business of the Meeting, had that Effect upon the Caviller, that if it did not satisfie him, it did at least silence him, and made him for the present sink down and be still, without giving any further Disturbance to the Meeting. And the *Friends* were well pleased with this unlooked for Testimony from me, and I was glad that I had that Opportunity to Confess to the Truth, and to Acknowledge once more, in so publick a manner, the Mercy and Goodness of the Lord to me therein.

By the time we came back from this Journey, the Summer was pretty far gone, and the following Winter I spent with the Children of the Family as before, without any remarkable Alteration in my Circumstances, until the next Spring, when I found in my self a Disposition of Mind to change my Single Life for a Married State.

I had always entertained so high a Regard for Marriage, as it was a Divine Institution,

that I held it not lawful to make it a sort of political Trade, to rise in the World by. And therefore as I could not but in my Judgment, blame such as I found made it their Business to Hunt after, and endeavour to gain those who were accounted *great Fortunes*, not so much regarding *what she is* as *what she has*, but making Wealth the chief if not the only thing they aimed at: so I resolved to avoid, in my own Practice, that Course, and how much soever my Condition might have prompted me (as well as others) to seek Advantage that way, never to engage on the Account of *Riches*, nor at all to Marry, till judicious Affection drew me to it, which I now began to feel at work in my Breast.

The Object of this Affection was a Friend (whose Name was *Mary Ellis*) whom for divers Years I had had an Acquaintance with, in the way of common Friendship only, and in whom I thought I then saw those fair Prints of Truth and solid Virtue, which I afterwards found, in a sublime Degree, in her: but what her Condition in the World was, as to Estate, I was wholly a Stranger to, nor desired to know.

I had once, a Year or two before, had an Opportunity to do her a small piece of Service, which she wanted some Assistance in: wherein I acted with all Sincerity and Freedom of Mind, not expecting or desiring any Advantage by her, or Reward from her, being very well satisfied in the Act it self, that I had served a Friend and helped the Helpless.

That little Intercourse of common Kindness

between us Ended without the least Thought (I am verily perswaded, on her part, well assured on my own) of any other or further Relation, than that of free and fair Friendship : Nor did it, at that time, lead us into any closer Conversation or more intimate Acquaintance one with the other, than had been before.

But some time (and that a good while) after, I found my Heart secretly drawn and inclining towards her : Yet was I not hasty in proposing, but waited to feel a satisfactory Settlement of Mind therein, before I made any step thereto.

After some time I took an Opportunity to open my Mind therein unto my much honoured Friends, *Isaac* and *Mary Penington*, who then stood *Parentum loco* in the place or stead of Parents to me. They having solemnly weighed the Matter, exprest their Unity therewith : and indeed their Approbation thereof was no small Confirmation to me therein. Yet took I further Deliberation, often Retiring in Spirit to the LORD, and Crying to him for Direction, before I addressed my self to her. At length, as I was sitting all alone, waiting upon the Lord for Counsel and Guidance in this (in itself, and) to me so important Affair, I felt a Word sweetly arise in me, as if I had heard a Voice which said, *Go and Prevail*. And Faith springing in my Heart with the Word, I immediately arose and went, nothing doubting.

When I was come to her Lodgings (which were about a Mile from me) her maid told me she was in her Chamber (for having been under some Indisposition of Body, which had obliged

her to keep her Chamber, she had not yet left it). Wherefore I desired the Maid to acquaint her Mistress, that I was come to give her a Visit : Whereupon I was invited to go up to her. And after some little time spent in common Conversation, feeling my Spirit weightily concerned, I solemnly opened my Mind unto her with respect to the particular Business I came about, which I soon perceived was a great Surprisal to her. For she had taken in an Apprehension (as others also had done) that mine Eye had been fixed elsewhere, and nearer home.

I used not many Words to her, but I felt a Divine Power went along with the Words, and fixed the matter expressed by them so fast in her Breast, that (as she afterwards acknowledged to me) she could not shut it out.

I made at that time but a short Visit. For having told her I did not expect an Answer from her now, but desired she would, in the most solemn Manner, weigh the Proposal made, and in due time give me such an Answer thereunto as the Lord should give her : I took my leave of her and departed, leaving the Issue to the Lord.

I had a journey then at hand, which I foresaw would take me up two Weeks time. Wherefore, the Day before I was to set out, I went to Visit her again, to acquaint her with my Journey, and excuse my absence : not yet pressing her for an Answer ; but assuring her that I felt in my self an Increase of Affection to her, and hoped to receive a suitable Return from her in the Lord's time ; to whom in the mean time I

committed both her, my self, and the Concern between us. And indeed, I found at my Return that I could not have left it in a better hand : for the LORD had been my Advocate in my absence, and had so far answered all her Objections that, when I came to her again, she rather acquainted me with them, than urged them.

From that time forward we entertained each other with Affectionate Kindness in order to Marriage ; which yet we did not hasten to, but went on deliberately. Neither did I use those vulgar ways of Courtship, by making frequent and rich Presents : Not only for that my Outward Condition would not comport with the Expence : But because I liked not to obtain by such means, but preferred an unbribed Affection.

While this Affair stood thus with me, I had occasion to take another Journey into *Kent* and *Sussex* : Which yet I would not mention here, but for a particular Accident which befel me on the way.

The occasion of this Journey was this. *Mary Penington's* Daughter *Guli*, intending to go to her Uncle *Springett's*, in *Sussex*, and from thence amongst her Tenants, her Mother desired me to accompany her, and assist her in her Business with her Tenants.

We tarried at *London* the first Night, and set out next Morning on the *Tunbridge-Road* ; and *Seven-Oak* lying in our way, we put in there to Bait : But truly we had much ado to get either Provisions or Room for our selves, or our

Horses, the House was so filled with Guests, and those not of the better sort. For the *Duke of York* being (as we were told) on the Road that day for the *Wells*, divers of his *Guards* and the meaner sort of his *Retinue* had near filled all the Inns there.

I left *John Gigger* (who waited on *Guli* in this Journey, and was afterwards her menial Servant) to take care of the Horses, while I did the like, as well as I could, for her. I got a little Room to put her into, and having shut her into it, went to see what Relief the *Kitchen* would afford us : And with much ado, by Praying hard and Paying dear, I got a small Joynt of Meat from the Spit, which served rather to stay than satisfie our Stomachs, for we were all pretty sharp set.

After this short Repast, being weary of our Quarters, we quickly Mounted and took the Road again, willing to hasten from a Place where we found nothing but Rudeness ; for the *Roysters*, who at that time swarmed there, besides the Damning *Oaths* they belched out at one another, looked very Sowerly on us, as if they grudged us both the Horses we rode, and the Cloaths we wore.

A Knot of these soon followed us, designing (as we afterwards found) to put an Abuse upon us, and make themselves Sport with us. We had a spot of fine, smooth, sandy Way, whereon the Horses trod so softly that we heard them not, till one of them was upon us. I was then riding a breast with *Guli*, and discoursing with her, when on a sudden hearing a little Noise,

and turning mine Eye that way, I saw a Horseman coming up on the further side of her Horse, having his left arm stretched out, just ready to take her about the Waste and pluck her off backwards from her own horse to lay her before him upon his. I had but just time to thrust forth my Stick between him and her, and bid him Stand off: and at the same time reining my Horse to let hers go before me, thrust in between her and him, and being better Mounted than he, my Horse run him off. But his horse being (though weaker than mine, yet) Nimble, he slipt by me and got up to her on the near side, endeavouring to offer Abuse to her: To prevent which I thrust in upon him again, and in our Jostling we drove her Horse quite out of the Way, and almost into the next Hedge.

While we were thus Contending I heard a Noise of loud Laughter behind us, and turning my Head that way, I saw three or four Horsemen more, who could scarce sit their Horses for Laughing, to see the sport their Companion made with us. From thence I saw it was a Plot laid, and that this rude Fellow was not to be dallied with. Wherefore I bestirred myself the more to keep him off; Admonishing him to take warning in time and give over his Abusiveness, lest he Repented too late. He had in his Hand a short thick Truncheon, which he held up at me; on which laying hold with a strong *Gripe*, I suddenly wrenched it out of his Hand, and threw it at as far a distance behind me as I could.

While he rode back to fetch his Truncheon,

I called up honest *John Gigger* ; who was indeed a right honest Man, and of a Temper so thoroughly Peaceable that he had not hitherto put in at all. But now I rouzed him, and bid him Ride so close up to his Mistress's Horse, on the further side, that no Horse might thrust in between ; and I would endeavour to Guard the near side. But he, good Man, not thinking it, perhaps, decent enough for him to Ride so near his Mistress, left room enough for another to Ride between. And indeed, so soon as our Brute had recovered his Truncheon, he came up directly thither, and had thrust in again, had not I, by a nimble turn, chopt in upon him, and kept him at Bay.

I then told him I had hitherto spared him, but wish'd him not to Provoke me further. This I spake with such a Tone, as bespoke a high Resentment of the Abuse put upon us, and withal pressed so close upon him with my Horse, that I suffered him not to come up any more to *Guli*.

This his Companions (who kept an equal distance behind us) both heard and saw ; and thereupon Two of them advancing, came up to us. I then thought I might likely have my Hands full, but Providence turn'd it otherwise. For they, seeing the Contest rise so high, and probably fearing it would rise higher, not knowing where it might stop, came in to part us : Which they did by taking him away, one of them leading his Horse by the Bridle, and the other driving him on with his Whip, and so carried him off.

One of their Company staid yet behind. And it so happening that a great Shower just then fell, we betook our selves for shelter to a thick and well-spread *Oak*, which stood hard by. Thither also came that other Person (who wore the *Duke's* livery) and while we put on our defensive Garments against the Weather, which then set in to be wet, he took the opportunity to discourse with me about the Man that had been so Rude to us, endeavouring to Excuse him by alledging that *he had drank a little too liberally*. I let him know that one Vice would not Excuse another; That although but one of them was actually concern'd in the Abuse, yet both He and the rest of them were Abettors of it, and Accessories to it; that I was not ignorant whose Livery they wore, and was well assured their Lord would not maintain them in committing such Outrages upon Travellers on the Road, to our Injury and his Dishonour; That I understood the *Duke* was coming down, and that they might expect to be called to an Account for this rude Action.

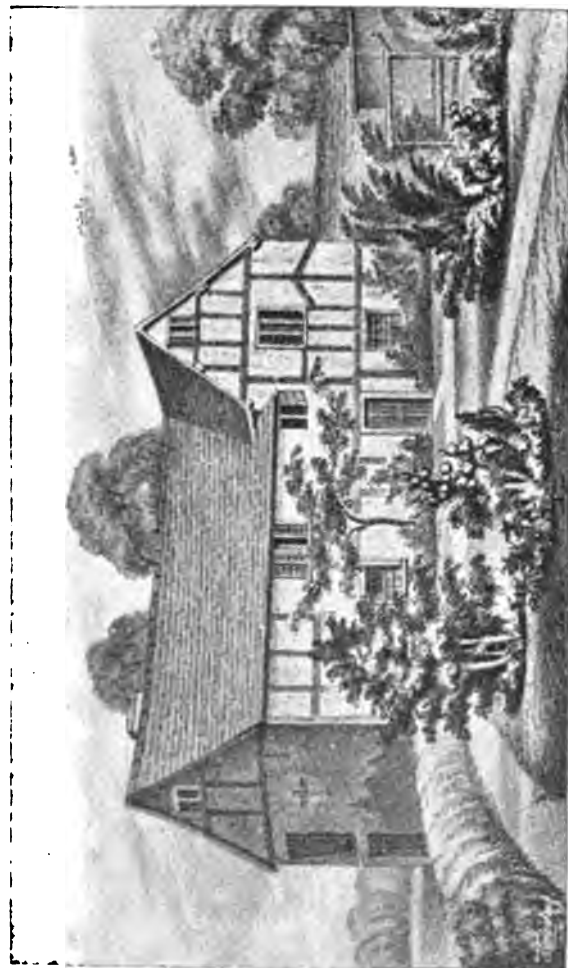
He then begg'd hard that we would pass by the Offence, and make no Complaint to their Lord: for he knew, he said, *the Duke would be very severe, and it would be the utter Ruin of the Young Man*. When he had said what he could, he went off before us, without any ground given him to expect Favour: And when we had fitted our selves for the Weather, we followed after, our own Pace.

When we came to *Tunbridge*, I set *John Gigger* foremost, bidding him lead on briskly

through the Town, and placing *Guli* in the middle, I came close up after her, that I might both Observe and Interpose if any fresh Abuse should have been offered her. We were expected, I perceived, for though it Rained very hard, the Street was thronged with Men, who looked very earnestly on us, but did not put any affront upon us.

We had a good way to Ride beyond *Tunbridge*, and beyond the *Wells*, in by-ways among the Woods, and were later for the hindrance we had had on the Way. And when, being come to *Harbert Springett's* House, *Guli* acquainted her Uncle what Danger and Trouble she had gone through on the way, he resented it so high, that he would have had the Persons Prosecuted for it. But since Providence had interposed, and so well Preserved and Delivered her, she chose to remit the Cause to him.

When *Guli* had finished the Business she went upon, we returned home, and I delivered her safe to her glad Mother. From that time forward I continued my Visits to my best beloved Friend, until we Married, which was on the 28th day of the 8th Month (called *October*) in the Year 1669. We took each other in a Select Meeting of the Ancient and Grave *Friends* of that Country, holden in a *Friend's* House, where, in those times, not only the Monthly Meeting for Business but the Publick Meeting for Worship was sometimes kept. A very Solemn Meeting it was, and in a weighty frame of Spirit we were ; in which we sensibly felt the Lord with us, and Joyning us ; the sense



THOMAS ELLWOOD'S HOUSE, HUNGER HILL.
(Now demolished).

whereof remained with us all our Life-time, and was of good Service, and very Comfortable to us on all Occasions.*

My next Care, after Marriage, was to Secure my Wife what Monies she had, and with her self bestowed upon me. For I held it would be an Abominable Crime in me, and savour of the highest Ingratitude, if I (though but through Negligence) should leave room for my Father (in case I should be taken away suddenly) to break in upon her Estate, and deprive her of any part of that which had been and ought to be her own. Wherefore with the first opportunity (as I remember, the very next Day, and before I knew particularly what she had) I made my will; and thereby secured to her whatever I was Possessed of, as well all that which she brought, either in Monies or in Goods, as that little which I had before I Married her : Which indeed was but little yet more [by all that little] than I had ever given her Ground to expect with me.

She had indeed been Advised, by some of her Relations, to secure before Marriage some part at least of what she had, to be at her own disposal. Which (though perhaps not wholly free from some Tincture of Self-Interest in the Proposer) was not in it self the worst of Counsel.

* An interesting description of the method of procedure for marriage among Friends at this period will be found in *Jordans and the Chalfonts*, 2nd edit., p. 156 *et seq.* Soon after his marriage Ellwood went to reside at Hunger Hill or Ongar Hill, near Coleshill (See Appendix : General Notes).

But the worthyness of her Mind, and the sense of the Ground on which she received me, would not suffer her to entertain any Suspicion of me : and this laid on me the greater Obligation, in point of Gratitude, as well as of Justice, to Regard and Secure her ; which I did.

I omitted in its proper place (because I would not break in upon the Discourse I was then upon) to insert a few Lines, which I writ as a Congratulation to an Honoured *Friend* upon his Marriage ; and presented him with the next Morning, thus :—

MY Heart's affected with a weighty Sense
Of Yesterdays Proceedings, and from thence
Desire arises to CONGRATULATE
My happy *Friend*, in his New-Married State.
Not in that Strain, wherewith some use to Cloy
Mens Ears, with tedious Peals of giving Joy.
But, shunning all Extreame, I chuse to tread
The Middle Path which does to *Vertue* lead.

This then my Heart desires for thee, my *Friend*,
Thy Nuptial Joys may never here have End.
May *Happiness* with thee take up her Rest :
And sweet *Contentment* always fill thy Breast.
May God thee bless with numerous Increase :
And may thy utmost Off-spring rest in Peace.

Accept this Pledge of Love (tho' but a Part
Of what is Treasur'd for thee in my Heart)
From him, who herein hath no other End,
Than to declare himself

Thy faithful Friend,

Stepney, 9th 2d. Month, 1669.

T. E.

I had not been long Married before I was solicited by my dear Friends *Isaac* and *Mary Penington*, and her daughter *Guli*, to take a

journey into *Kent* and *Sussex*, to Accompt with their Tenants, and overlook their Estates in those Countries, which, before I was Married, I had had the Care of :* and accordingly the Journey I undertook, though in the depth of Winter.

My Travels into those Parts were the more irksome to me from the Solitariness I underwent, and want of suitable Society. For my Business lying among the Tenants, who were a rustick Sort of People, of various Perswasions and Humours, but not *Friends*, I had little Opportunity of Conversing with Friends, though I contrived to be with them, as much as I could, especially on the First Day of the Week.

But that which made my present Journey more heavy to me was a sorrowful Exercise, which was newly fallen upon me from my Father, harder to be born than any I had ever met with from him before.

He had, upon my first acquainting him with my Inclination to Marry, and to whom, not only very much approved the Match, and voluntarily offered, without my either asking or expecting, to give me a handsome Portion at present, with Assurance of an Addition to it hereafter. And he not only made this Offer to me in private, but came down from *London* into the Country on purpose, to be better

* The estates referred to were probably those inherited by Mary Penington from her marriage with Sir William Springett and included Worminghurst, later the residence of William Penn and his wife Guli. Only the stables now remain at Worminghurst.

acquainted with my Friend : and did there make the same Proposal to her ; offering also to give Security to any Friend or Relation of hers for the Performance. Which Offer she most generously declined, leaving him as free as she found him. But after we were Married, notwithstanding such his Promise, he wholly declined the Performance of it, under Pretence of our not being Married by the *Priest* and *Liturgy*. This Usage and Evil Treatment of us thereupon was a great Trouble to me : and when I endeavoured to Soften him in the matter, he forbid my speaking to him of it any more, and removed his Lodging that I might not find him.

The Grief I conceived on this Occasion, was not for any Disappointment to my self or to my Wife : for neither she nor I had any strict or necessary Dependence upon that Promise ; but my Grief was partly for the Cause assigned by him as the Ground of it : which was *That our Marriage was not by Priest or Liturgy* ; and partly for that his lower Circumstances in the World, might probably tempt him to find some such, though Unwarrantable, Excuse to avoid performing his Promise.*

And surely hard would it have been for my Spirit to have born up under the weight of this Exercise, had not the LORD been exceeding

* Ellwood's relations after this with his father do not appear to have been happy. The unjust charges that were made against him, of want of filial respect, are dealt with in the extracts from Joseph Wyeth's Supplement to the *Life*, pp. 292 *et seq.*

gracious to me, and supported me with the Inflowings of his Love and Life, wherewith he visited my Soul in my Travel. The Sense whereof raised in my Heart a thankful Remembrance of his manifold Kindnesses in his former dealings with me. And in the Evening, when I came to my Inn, while Supper was getting ready, I took my Pen and put into Words what had in the Day revolved in my Thoughts. And thus it was :—

A SONG OF PRAISE,

THY love, dear Father, and thy tender Care,
Have in my heart begot a strong Desire
To celebrate thy Name with Praises rare,
That others too Thy goodness may admire,
And learn to yield to what thou dost require.

Many have been the Tryals of my Mind,
My Exercises great, great my Distress ;
Full oft my Ruin hath my Foe design'd :
My sorrows then my Pen cannot express ;
Nor could the best of Men afford Redress.

When thus beset, to thee I lift mine Eye,
And with a mournful Heart my Moan did make ;
How oft, with Eyes o'erflowing did I cry,
My God, my God, O do me not forsake !
Regard my Tears ! Some Pity on me take !

And, to the Glory of Thy holy Name,
Eternal God, whom I both Love and Fear,
I hereby do declare I never came
Before *thy Throne*, and found thee *loath to hear*,
But always *ready*, with an open Ear.

And tho' sometimes thou seem'st *thy Face to hide*,
As one that had *withdrawn thy Love from me* ;
'Tis that my *Faith* may to the full be try'd,
And that thereby I may the better see
How weak I am when not upheld by thee.

For underneath Thy holy Arm I feel,
 Encompassing with *Strength*, as with a *Wall*,
 That, if the Enemy trip up my Heel,
 Thou ready art to save me from a Fall :
 To thee belong *Thanksgivings* over all.

And for Thy tender Love, my God, my King,
 My *Heart* shall magnifie thee all my Days,
 My *Tongue* of thy Renown shall daily sing,
 My Pen shall also grateful Trophies raise,
 As Monuments to thy Eternal Praise.

T. E.

Kent, 11th Mo.,
 1669.

Having finished my Business in *Kent*, I struck off into *Sussex*, and finding the Enemy endeavouring still more strongly to beset me, I betook my self to the Lord for Safety, in whom I knew all Help and Strength was ; and thus poured forth my Supplication, directed

To the holy ONE.

ETERNAL God ! Preserver of all those
 (Without respect of Person or Degree)
 Who in thy Faithfulness their Trust repose,
 And place their confidence alone in Thee ;
 Be thou my succour ; for thou know'st that I
 On thy Protection, LORD, alone rely.
 Surround me, Father, with thy mighty Pow'r,
 Support me daily by thine Holy Arm :
 Preserve me faithful in the Evil Hour,
 Stretch forth *thine hand*, to save me from all Harm.
 Be Thou my *Helmet, Breastplate, Sword, & Shield*,
 And make my Foes before Thy power to yield.
 Teach me the Spirit'al battel so to fight,
 That when the Enemy shall me beset ;
 Arm'd Cap-a-pe with th' Armour of thy Light,
 A perfect conquest o'er him I may get :
 And with thy *Battel-Ax* may cleave the *Head*
 Of him who bites that part whereon I tread,

Then being from *Domestick* Foes set free,
 The *Cruelties* of *Men* I shall not fear ;
 But in thy quarrel, *Lord*, undaunted be :
 And, *for thy sake*, the Loss of all things bear ;
 Yea, tho' in *Dungeon* lock'd, with Joy will sing
 An ODE of *Praise* to thee, my *God*, my *King*.

Sussex, 11th Mo., 1669.

T. E.

As soon as I had dispatch't the Business I went about, I returned home without delay ; and to my great Comfort found my Wife well, and my self very welcome to her : both which I esteemed as great Favours.

Towards the latter Part of the Summer following, I went into *Kent* again, and in my Passage through *London*, received the unwelcome News of the Loss of a very hopeful Youth, who had formerly been under my Care for Education. It was *Isaac Penington* (the second Son of my worthy Friends *Isaac* and *Mary Penington*), a Child of excellent natural Parts, whose great Abilities bespake him likely to be a great Man, had he lived to be a Man. He was designed to be bred a *Merchant* ; and before he was thought ripe enough to be entered thereunto, his Parents, at somebodies Request, gave leave that he might go a Voyage to *Barbadoes*, only to spend a little time, see the Place, and be somewhat acquainted with the Sea, under the Care and Conduct of a choice Friend and Sailor, *John Grove*,* of *London*, who was Master of a Vessel, and Traded to that Island : and a little Venture he had with him, made up by divers of his Friends ; and by me among the

* Frequently mentioned in the *Journal of Thomas Story*, folio, 1747.

rest. He made the Voyage thither very well ; found the wat'ry Element agreeable ; had his Health there ; liked the Place ; was much pleased with his Entertainment there ; and was returning home with his little Cargo, in Return for the Goods he had carried out ; when on a suddain, through Unwariness, he drop't over Board, and (the Vessel being under Sail, with a brisk Gale) was irrecoverably lost, notwithstanding the utmost Labour, Care, and Diligence of the Master and Sailors to have saved him.

This unhappy Accident took from the afflicted Master all the Pleasure of his Voyage, and he mourn'd for the Loss of this Youth, as if it had been his own, yea, only son : for as he was in himself a Man of a worthy Mind, so the boy, by his witty and handsome Behaviour in general, and obsequious Carriage towards him in particular, had very much wrought himself into his Favour.

As for me, I thought it one of the sharpest Strokes I had met with : for I both loved the Child very well and had conceived great Hopes of general Good from him ; and it pierced me the deeper to think how deeply it would pierce his afflicted Parents.

Sorrow for this Disaster was my Companion in this Journey, and I travelled the Roads under great Exercise of Mind, revolving in my Thoughts the manifold Accidents which the *LIFE of Man* was attended with, and subject to, and the great *Uncertainty of all Humane Things* ; I could find no Center, no firm Basis, for the *Mind of Man* to fix upon but the *Divine*

Power and will of the *Almighty*. This Consideration wrought in my Spirit a sort of Contempt of what supposed *Happiness* or *Pleasure* this World, or the things that are in and of it, can of themselves yield, and raised my Contemplation higher; which, as it ripened, and came to some degree of Digestion, I breathed forth in mournful Accents thus.

SOLITARY THOUGHTS ON THE UNCERTAINTY
OF HUMANE THINGS.

OCCASIONED BY THE SUDDEN LOSS OF A HOPEFUL
YOUTH.

Transibunt cito, quæ vos mansura putatis.

Those things soon will pass away
Which ye think will always stay,

WHAT ground, alas, has any Man
To set his Heart on things below :
Which, when they seem most like to stand,
Fly, like an Arrow from a Bow ?
Things subject to exterior Sense
Are to Mutation most propence.

If stately Houses we Erect,
And therein think to take Delight,
On what a suddain are we check't,
And all our Hopes made groundless quite !
One little Spark in Ashes lays
What we were building half our Days.

If on Estate an Eye we cast,
And Pleasure there expect to find,
A secret Providential Blast
Gives Disappointment to our Mind.
Who now's on Top e're long may feel
The circling Motion of the Wheel.

If we our tender Babes embrace,
And Comfort hope in them to have,
Alas ! in what a little Space
Is Hope with them, laid in the Grave !
Whatever promiseth Content
Is, in a Moment, from us rent,

This World cannot afford a thing
Which, to a well-composed Mind,
Can any lasting Pleasure bring,
But in its Womb its Grave will find.
All things unto their Center tend ;
What had* Beginning will have End.

But is there nothing then that's sure
For Man to fix his Heart upon ?
Nothing that always will endure,
When all these transient things are gone ?
Sad state ! where Man, with Grief opprest,
Finds nought whereon his Mind may rest.

O yes ! There is a God above,
Who unto Men is also nigh,
On whose unalterable Love
We may with Confidence rely,
No Disappointment can befall
Us, having him that's *All in All*,

If unto him we faithful be,
It is impossible to miss
Of whatsoever he shall see
Conducible unto our Bliss.
What can of Pleasure him prevent
Who hath the Fountain of Content ?

In Him alone if we delight,
And in his Precepts Pleasure take,
We shall be sure to do aright—
'Tis not his Nature to forsake
A proper Object's He alone,
For Man to set his Heart upon,

* *Understand this of Natural Things.*

Domino Mens nixa quieta est.

*The Mind which upon God is stay'd
Shall with no Trouble be dismay'd.*

T. E.

Kent, 7bris. 4to.
1670.

A copy of the foregoing Lines, inclosed in a Letter of *Condolence*, I sent by the First Post into *Buckinghamshire*, to my dear Friends the afflicted Parents; And upon my Return home, going to visit them, we sat down, and solemnly mixed our Sorrows and Tears together.

About this time (as I remember) it was that some Bickerings happening between some *Baptists* and some of the people called *Quakers*, in or about *High-Wiccomb*, in *Buckinghamshire*, occasioned by some reflecting Words a *Baptist*-Preacher had publickly uttered in one of their Meetings there, against the *Quakers* in general, and *W. Penn* in particular; it came at length to this Issue, that a Meeting for a publick Dispute was appointed, to be holden at *West-Wiccomb*, between *Jeremy Ives* (who espoused his Brother's Cause) and *W. Penn*.*

To this Meeting, it being so near me, I went; rather to countenance the Cause than for any Delight I took in such work: for indeed I have rarely found the Advantage equivalent to the Trouble and Danger arising from those Contests. For which cause I would not chuse them, as, being justly engaged, I would not refuse them.

The Issue of this proved better than I expected. For *Ives*, having undertaken an Ill

* See Appendix: Biographical Notes.

Cause, to argue against the *Divine Light* and *universal Grace, conferred by God on all Men*, when he had spent his Stock of Arguments which he brought with him on that Subject, finding his Work go on heavily and the Auditory not well satisfied, stept down from his Seat and departed, with purpose to have broken up the Assembly. But, except some few of his Party who followed him, the People generally stay'd, and were the more attentive to what was afterwards delivered amongst them. Which *Ives* understanding, came in again, and in an angry, railing manner, expressing his Dislike that we went not away when he did, gave more Disgust to the People.

After the Meeting was ended, I sent to my Friend Isaac Penington (by his Son and Servant, who returned home, late though it was, that Evening) a short Account of the Business in the following *Distich* :—

Prævaluit VERITAS : Inimici Terga dedere :
Nos sumus in tuto ; Laus tribuenda Deo.

Which may be thus Englished :

Truth hath prevail'd ; the Enemies did fly :
 We are in Safety ; Praise to God on high,

But both they and we had quickly other Work found us : It soon became a stormy time. The Clouds had been long gathering, and threatening a Tempest. The Parliament had sate some time before, and hatched that unaccountable Law, which was called *The Conventicle Act* : (If that may be allowed to be called a Law, by whomsoever made), which



WEST WYCOMBE, BUCKS.

Scene of the debate between William Penn and Jeremy Ives.

was so directly contrary to the Fundamental Laws of *England*, to common Justice, Equity, and Right Reason, as this manifestly was. For,

1st, It brake down and overrun the Bounds and Banks anciently set for the Defence and Security of *Englishmens* Lives, Liberties, and Properties —viz., *Trial by Juries*.* Instead thereof, directing and authorizing Justices of the Peace (and that too privately, out of *Sessions*) to Convict, Fine, and by their Warrants Distrain upon Offendors against it; directly contrary to the *Great Charter*.

2. By that Act, the Informers (who Swear for their own Advantage, as being thereby entituled to a Third Part of the Fines) were may times concealed, driving on an underhand private Trade: so that Men might be, and often were, Convicted and Fined, without having any Notice or Knowledge of it, till the Officers came and took away their Goods, nor even then could they tell by whose Evidence they were convicted. Than which what could be more opposite to common Justice? which requires that every Man should be openly charged and have his Accuser Face to Face, that he might both Answer for himself before he be Convicted, and object to the Validity of the Evidence given against him?

3. By that Act the Innocent were punished for the Offences of the Guilty. If the Wife or Child was convicted of having been at one of those Assemblies, which by that Act was

* See account of trial of William Penn and William Mead at the Old Bailey this same year.

adjudged Unlawful; the Fine was levied on the Goods of the Husband or Father of such Wife or Child: though he was neither present at such Assembly, nor was of the same Religious Persuasion that they were of; but perhaps an Enemy to it.

4. It was left in the arbitrary Pleasure of the Justices to lay half the Fine for the House or Ground where such Assembly was holden, and half the Fine for a pretended unknown Preacher, and the whole Fines of such and so many of the Meeters as they should account Poor, upon any other or others of the People who were present at the same Meeting (not exceeding a certain limitted Sum;) without any regard to Equity or Reason. And yet (such Blindness doth the *Spirit of Persecution* bring on Men, otherwise sharp-sighted enough) that this Unlawful, Unjust, Unequal, Unreasonable, and Unrighteous Law took place in (almost) all Places, and was vigorously prosecuted against the Meetings of *Dissenters* in general; though the Brunt of the Storm fell most Sharply on the People called *Quakers*: not that it seemed to be more particularly levelled at them: but that they stood more fair, steady, and open, as a But, to receive all the Shot that came, while some others found means and freedom to retire to Coverts for Shelter.

No sooner had the Bishops obtained this Law for suppressing all other Meetings but their own, but some of the Clergy of most Ranks, and some others too, who were overmuch bigotted to that Party, bestirred themselves with might

and main, to find out and Encourage the most profligate Wretches to turn Informers, and to get such Persons into Parochial Offices as would be most obsequious to their Commands, and ready at their Beck to put it into the most rigorous Execution. Yet it took not alike in all Places ; but some were forwarder in the Work than others, according as the Agents intended to be chiefly employed therein had been predisposed thereunto.

For in some Parts of the Nation care had been timely taken, by some not of the lowest Rank, to chuse out some particular Persons (Men of sharp Wit, close Countenances, pliant Tempers, and deep Dissimulation) and send them forth among the *Sectaries*, so called, with Instructions to thrust themselves into all Societies, Conform to all or any sort of Religious Profession, *Proteus*-like change their Shapes, and transform themselves from one Religious Appearance to another, as occasion should require. In a word, To be all things to all :—not that they might win some, but that they (might, if possible) ruin all ; at least many.

The Drift of this Design was, That they who employed them might, by this means, get a full Account what number of *Dissenters* Meetings of every sort, there were in each County, and where kept : what Number of Persons frequented them, and of what Ranks ; who amongst them were Persons of Estate, and where they lived : that when they should afterwards have troubled the Waters, they might the better know where, with most advantage, to cast their Nets.

He, of these Emissaries, whose Post was assigned him in this County of *Bucks*, adventured to thrust himself upon a *Friend*, under the counterfeit Appearance of a *Quaker* : but being by the *Friend* suspected, and thereupon dismiss'd unentertain'd, he was forced to betake himself to an Inn or Alehouse for Accommodation. Long he had not been there e're his unruly Nature (not to be long kept under by the Curb of a feigned Sobriety) broke forth into open Profaneness ; so true is that of the POET,

Naturam expellas furcâ licet, usque recurret.

To Fudling now falls he with those whom he found Tippling there before, and who but he amongst them ! In him was then made good the Proverb, *In Vino Veritas* : for in his Cups he out with that which was, no doubt, to have been kept a secret. 'Twas to his Pot-Companions that (after his Head was somewhat heated with strong Liquors) he discovered that he was sent forth by *Dr. Mew*, the then Vice-Chancellor of *Oxford*,* on the Design before related, and under the Protection of Justice *Morton*, a warrant under whose Hand and Seal he there produced.

Sensible of his Error too late (when sleep had restored him to some degree of Sense) and discouraged with this ill Success of his Attempt upon the *Quakers*, he quickly left that Place, and crossing through the Country, cast himself among the *Baptists* at a Meeting which they held in a private Place : of which the over

* Peter Mews, Bishop of Winchester, 1684.

easie Credulity of some that went among them (whom he had craftily insinuated himself into) had given him notice. The Entertainment he found amongst them, deserved a better Return than he made them. For, having smoothly wrought himself into their good Opinion, and cunningly drawn some of them into an unwary Openness, and Freedom of Conversation with him, upon the displeasing Subject of the Severity of those times, he most villanously impeached one of them (whose name was — *Headach*, a Man well reputed amongst his Neighbours) of having spoken *Treasonable Words*: and thereby brought the Man in Danger of losing both his Estate and Life, had not a seasonable discovery of his abominable Practices elsewhere (imprinting Terror, the effect of Guilt, upon him) caused him to fly both out of the Court and Country; at that very instant of Time when the honest Man stood at the Bar, ready to be arraigned upon his false Accusation.*

This his false Charge against the *Baptist* left him no further room to play the Hypocrite

* In the Congregational Library at the Memorial Hall, London, is preserved a letter from Aylesbury Gaol, dated July 9th, 1670. It is written by Robert Franklin, the ejected vicar of Westhall, Suffolk, who was in prison for holding a service at Colnbrook. He says, "Let my ffather Ware of a Trepanner, 5 mile of us, that went to a meeting of Anabap, pretended a gifted Brother, exercised among them, after betrayed them to penalty of law; pretended treason agst one; shows warrant from Sir Edward Morten for so doing; played the hypocrite most abominably in whole manage." Crosby, *History of the Baptists*, mentions this villain.

in those parts ; Off therefore go his Cloak and Vizor. And now he openly appears in his proper Colours, to disturb the Assemblies of God's People : which was indeed the very End for which the Design at first was laid.

But because the Law provided, *That a Conviction must be grounded upon the Oaths of two Witnesses*, it was needful for him, in order to the carrying on his intended Mischief, to find out an Associate, who might be both sordid enough for such Imployment, and vicious enough to be his Companion.

This was not an Easie Task : yet he found out one who had already given an Experiment of his Readiness to take other Mens Goods : being not long before released out of *Alesbury* Goal, where he very narrowly escaped the Gallows for having Stolen a Cow.

The Names of these Fellows being yet unknown in that Part of the Country where they began their Work ; the former, by the general Voice of the Country, was called *The Trepan* ; the latter, *the Informer*, and, from the Colour of his Hair, *Red-Head*. But in a little time the *Trepan* called himself *John Poulter*, adding withal that Judge *Morton* used to call him *John for the King*, and that the *A. B. of Canterbury* had given him a Deaconry. That his Name was indeed *John Poulter*, the reputed Son of one—— *Poulter*, a Butcher in *Salisbury*, and that he had long since been there branded for a Fellow egregiously Wicked and Debauched, we were assured by the Testimony of a young Man then living in *Amersham*, who both was

his Countryman and had known him in *Salisbury*, as well as by a Letter from an Inhabitant of that Place, to whom his Course of Life had been well known.

His Comrade, who for some time was only called the *Informer*, was named *Ralph Lacy*, of *Risborough*, and Sirnamed *The Cow-stealer*.

These agreed between themselves where to make their first Onset (which was to be, and was, on the Meeting of the People called *Quakers*, then holden at the House of *William Russell*,* called *Jourdan's*, in the Parish of *Giles-Chalfont*, in the County of *Bucks*;) that which was wanting to their Accommodation was a Place of Harbour, fit for such Beasts of Prey to lurke in: for Assistance wherein Recourse was had to Parson *Philips*; none being so ready, none so willing, none so able to help them as he.

A friend he had in a Corner, a Widow-Woman, not long before one of his Parishioners. Her Name was *Anne Dell*; and at that time she lived at a Farm called *Whites*, a By-place in the Parish of *Beaconsfield*, whither she removed from *Hitchindon*.† To her these Fellows were Recommended by her Old Friend the Parson. She with all readiness received them; Her House was at all times open to them: what she had was at their Command.

Two Sons she had at home with her, both

* See Appendix: Biographical Notes.

† White's Farm stood on the spot now occupied by the mansion known as "The Grove," between Beaconsfield and Coleshill. "Hitchindon" was the old name of the village of Hughenden.

at Man's Estate; to the Eldest of which her Maid-Servant, not long before, had laid a Bastard: which Infamy to smother up proved Expensive to them. The younger Son (whose Name was *John Dell*) hoping by the Pillage of his honest Neighbours to regain what the Incontinency of his lustful Brother had Misspent, listed himself in the Service of his Mother's New Guests, to attend on them as their Guide, and to Inform them (who were too much Strangers to pretend to know the Names of any of the Persons there) whom they should inform against.

Thus consorted, thus in a Triple League confederated, on the 24th Day of the *Fifth Month* (commonly called *July*) in the Year 1670, they appeared openly, and began to Act their intended Tragœdy upon the *Quakers* Meeting, at the Place aforesaid, to which I belonged, and at which I was present. Here the chief Actor, *Poultter*, behaved himself with such impetuous Violence and brutish Rudeness as gave Occasion for Enquiry who or what he was.* And being soon discovered to be the *Trepan*, so Infamous and abhor'd by all sober People, and afterwards daily detected of gross Impieties and even Capital Crimes (such as *Christ'ning* (so the Common Term is) of a Cat in contempt of the Practice which is used by many upon Children) naming it *Catherine-Catherina*, in derision of the then Queen; And the Felonious

* See account in Monthly Meeting minutes. *Jordans and the Chalfonts*, 2nd edition, p. 139.

taking of certain Goods from one of *Brainford*,* whom also he cheated of Money ; These things raising an out-cry in the Country upon him, made him consult his own Safety ; and leaving his Part to be acted by others, quitted the Country as soon as he could.

He being gone, Satan soon supplied his place by sending one *Richard Aris*, a broken *Iron-monger* of *Wiccomb*, to join with *Lacy* in this Service, prompted thereto, in hopes that he might thereby repair his broken Fortunes.

Of this New Adventurer this single Character may serve, whereby the Reader may make Judgment of him as of the Lion by his Paw ; That at the *Sessions* holden at *Wiccomb* in *October* then last past he was openly accused of having enticed one *Harding*, of the same Town, to be his Companion and Associate in Robbing on the Highway, and proof offered to be made that he had made Bullets in order to that Service : Which Charge *Harding* himself, whom he had endeavoured to draw into that hainous Wickedness, was ready in Court to prove upon Oath, had not the Prosecution been discountenanced and smothered.

Lacy (the Cow-Stealer) having thus got *Aris* (the intended Highway-man), to be his Comrade, they came (on the 21st of the Month called *August*, 1670) to the Meeting of the People called *Quakers*, where *Lacy*, with *Poullier*, had been a Month before ; and taking for granted that the same who had been there before were

* Brentford.

there then, they went to a Justice of the Peace called *Sir Thomas Clayton*, and Swore at all adventure against one *Thomas Zachary** and his Wife (whom *Lacy* understood to have been there the Month before) that they were then present in that Meeting; Whereas neither the said *Thomas Zachary* nor his Wife were at that Meeting, but were both of them at *London*, (above Twenty Miles distant) all that Day, having been there some time before and after. Which notwithstanding, upon this false Oath of these false Men, the Justice laid Fines upon the said *Thomas Zachary* of 10*l.* for his own Offence, 10*l.* for his Wife's, and 10*l.* for the Offence of a pretended Preacher (though indeed there was not any that preached at that Meeting that Day;) and issued forth his Warrant to the Officers of *Beaconsfield* (where *Thomas Zachary* dwelt), for the levying of the same upon his Goods.

I mention these things thus particularly (though not an Immediate Suffering of my own), because in the Consequence thereof, it occasioned no small Trouble and Exercise to me.

For when *Thomas Zachary*, returning home from *London*, understanding what had been done against him, and advising what to do, was informed by a Neighbouring *Attorney*, that his Remedy lay in appealing from the Judgment of the Convicting Justice to the *General Quarter Sessions* of the Peace; he thereupon ordering the said *attorney* to draw

* See Appendix Biographical Notes.

up his Appeal in Form of Law, went himself with it, and tendered it to the Justice. But the Justice being a Man neither well principled nor well natured, and uneasie that he should lose the Advantage, both of the present Conviction and future Service of such (in his Judgment) useful Men as those two bold Informers were likely to be: fell sharply upon *Thomas Zachary*, charging him that he suffer'd justly, and that his Suffering was not on a Religious Account.

This rough and unjust Dealing engaged the good Man to enter into further Discourse with the Justice in defence of his own Innocency. From which Discourse the insidious Justice, taking offence at some Expression of his, charged him with saying, *The Righteous are Oppressed, and the Wicked go Unpunished.* Which the Justice interpreting to be a Reflection on the Government, and calling it an *high Misdemeanour*, required Sureties of the good Man to answer it at the next *Quarter Sessions*, and in the mean time to be bound to his good Behaviour. But he, well knowing himself to be Innocent of having broken any LAW, or done in this matter any Evil, could not answer the Justice's Unjust Demand, and therefore was sent forthwith a Prisoner to the County Goal.

By this Severity it was thought the Justice designed not only to wreak his Displeasure on this good Man, but to prevent the further Prosecution of his Appeal: Whereby he should at once both Oppress the Righteous, by the Levying of the Fines unduly imposed upon him,

and secure the *Informers* from a Conviction of wilful Perjury and the Punishment due therefore that so they might go on without Controul, in the wicked Work they were engaged in.

But so great Wickedness was not to be suffered to go Unpunished, or at least Undiscovered. Wherefore, although no way could be found at present, to get the good Man Released from his Unjust Imprisonment; Yet that his Restraint might not hinder the Prosecution of his Appeal on which the Detection of the *Informers* Villany depended: Consideration being had thereof amongst some *Friends*, the Management of the Prosecution was committed to my Care, who was thought (with respect, at least, to Leisure and disengagement from other Business) most fit to attend it; and very willingly I undertook it.

Wherefore at the next General Quarter Sessions of the Peace, held at High *Wiccomb*, in *October* following, I took care that Four Substantial Witnesses, Citizens of unquestionable Credit, should come down from *London* in a Coach and Four Horses, hired on Purpose.

These gave so punctual and full Evidence that *Thomas Zachary* and his Wife were in *London* all that Day, whereon the *Informers* had Sworn them to have been at an Unlawful Meeting, at a place more than Twenty Miles distant from *London*, that notwithstanding, what Endeavours were used to the contrary, the Jury found them Not Guilty. Whereupon the Money deposited for the Fines at the Enttring of the Appeal ought to have been returned:

and so were Ten Pounds of it ; but the rest of the Money being in the hand of the Clerk of the Peace, whose Name was *Wells*, could never be got out again.

Thomas Zachary himself was brought from *Alesbury* Goal to *Wiccomb*, to receive his Tryal ; and though no Evil could be charged upon him : yet Justice *Clayton*, who at first Committed him, displeased to see the Appeal Prosecuted, and the Conviction he had made set aside, by importunity prevailed with the Bench to remand him to Prison again, there to lie until another Sessions.

While this was doing I got an Indictment drawn up against the *Informers*, *Aris* and *Lacy*, for wilful Perjury, and caused it to be delivered to the Grand Jury, who found the Bill. And although the Court Adjourned from the Town Hall to the Chamber at their Inn (in favour, as it was thought, to the *Informers*, on supposition we would not pursue them thither), yet thither they were pursued : and there being two Counsels present from *Windsor* (the Name of the one was *Starkey*, and of the other, as I remember, *Forster*, the former of which I had before retained upon the Tryal of the Appeal) I now retained them both, and sent them into Court again, to Prosecute the *Informers* upon this Indictment. Which they did so smartly, that the *Informers* (being present, as not suspecting any such sudden Danger) were of necessity called to the Bar, and Arraigned ; and having pleaded Not Guilty. were forced to enter a Traverse, to avoid a present Commitment : All the Favour the Court

could shew them being to take them Bail one for the other (though probably both not worth a Groat), else they must have gone to Goal for want of Bail, which would have put them besides their Business, spoyl'd the Informing Trade, and broke the Design; whereas now they were turned loose again to do what Mischief they could, until the next Sessions.

Accordingly, they did what they could, and yet could make little or no Earnings at it: For this little step of Prosecution had made them so known, and their late apparent Perjury had made them so detestable, that even the common sort of bad Men shunned them, and would not willingly yield them any Assistance.

The next Quarter-Sessions was held at *Alesbury*, whither we were fain to bring down our Witnesses again from *London*, in like manner and at like Charge (at the least) as before. And though I met with great Discouragements in the Prosecution, yet I followed it so Vigorously, that I got a Verdict against the *Informers* for *wilful* Perjury: and had forthwith taken them up, had not they forthwith fled from Justice and hid themselves. However, I moved by my *Attorney* for an Order of Court, directed to all *Mayors, Bailiffs, High Constables, Petty Constables*, and other Inferior Officers of the Peacc, to Arrest and take them up where-ever they should be found within the County of *Bucks*, and bring them to the County Goal.

The Report of this so terrified them, that of all things dreading the Misery of lying in a Goal (out of which they could not hope for

deliverance, otherwise than by, at least, the loss of their Ears) they, hopeless now of carrying on their Informing Trade, disjoyned, and one of them (*Aris*) fled the Country: So that (whatever Gallows caught him) he appeared no more in this Country. The other (*Lacy*) lurked privily, for a while, in *Woods* and *By-places*, 'till Hunger and Want forced him out; and then, casting himself upon a hazardous Adventure (which yet was the best, and proved to him best course he could have taken) he went directly to the Goal (where, he knew, the Innocent Man suffered Imprisonment by his Means and for his sake;) where asking for and being brought to *Thomas Zachary*, he cast himself on his Knees at his Feet, and with appearance of Sorrow Confessing his Fault, did so earnestly beg for Forgiveness, that he wrought upon the tender Nature of that very good Man, not only to put him in hopes of Mercy, but to be his Advocate by Letter to me, to mitigate, at least, if not wholly to remit, the Prosecution. To which I so far only consented as to let him know I would suspend the Execution of the *Warrant* upon him, according as he behaved himself, or until he gave fresh Provocation. At which Message the Fellow was so overjoyed that, relying with Confidence thereon, he returned openly to his Family and Labour, and applyed himself to Business (as his Neighbours observed and reported) with greater Diligence and Industry, than he had ever done before.

Thus began, and thus ended, the *Informing-*

Trade in these parts of the County of *Bucks*; the ill Success that these first *Informers* found discouraging all others, how Vile soever, from attempting the like Enterprise there ever after. And though it cost some Money to carry on the Prosecution, and some Pains too: Yet, for every Shilling so spent, a Pound probably might be saved of what (in all likelihood) would have been lost by the spoil and havock that might have been made by Distresses taken on their Informations.

But so Angry was the Convicting Justice (whatever others of the same Rank were) at this Prosecution, and the loss thereby of the service of those *Honest Men*, the Perjur'd *Informers*, For, as I heard an *Attorney* (one *Hitchcock*, of *Alesbury*, who was their Advocate in Court) say, *A great Lord, a Peer of the Realm, called them so, in a Letter directed to him; whereby he recommended to him the Care and Defence of them and their Cause*; that he prevailed to have the Oath of *Allegiance* tendred in Court to *Thomas Zachary*; which he knew he would not take, because he could not take any Oath at all; by which Snare he was kept in Prison a long time after; and (so far as I remember) until a general Pardon released him.

But though it pleased the Divine Providence (which sometimes vouchsafeth to bring Good out of Evil) to put a stop (in a great measure at least) to the Prosecution here begun: Yet in other Parts, both of the City and Country, it was carried on with very great Severity and Rigour: the worst of Men, for the most part

being set up for *Informers* ; the worst of Magistrates encouraging and abetting them ; and the worst of the Priests (who first began to blow the Fire) now seeing how it took, spread, and blazed, Clapping their Hands, and Hallowing them on to this Evil Work.

The sense whereof, as it deeply affected my Heart, with a Sympathizing Pity for the Oppressed Sufferers, so it raised in my Spirit an Holy Disdain and Contempt of that Spirit and its Agent, by which this Ungodly Work was stirred up and carried on. Which at length broke forth in an Expostulatory POEM, under the Title of *GIGANTOMACHIA (the Wars of the Giants against Heaven)* Not without some Allusion to the Second Psalm ; thus

WHY do the Heathen, in a brutish Rage,
 Themselves against the Lord of Hosts Engage !
 Why do the frantick People entertain
 Their Thoughts upon a thing that is so vain !
 Why do the Kings themselves together set !
 And why do all the Princes them abet !
 Why do the Rulers to each other speak !
 After this foolish manner, *Let us break*
Their bonds asunder ! Come, let us make hast,
With joint Consent, their Cords from us to cast
 Why do they thus joyn hands, and Counsel take
 Against the *Lord's Anointed !* This will make
 Him, doubtless, Laugh, who doth in Heaven Sit ;
 The *Lord* will have them in Contempt for it.
 His sore Displeasure on them he will wreak :
 And in his Wrath will he unto them Speak.
 For on his Holy Hill of *Sion*, he
 His King hath set to Reign ; *Scepters* must be
 Cast down before Him ; *Diadems* must lie
 At foot of him who sits in Majesty
 Upon his throne of Glory ; whence he will

Send forth his fiery ministers to kill
 All those his Enemies who would not be
 Subject to his supream Authority.

Where then will ye appear who are so far
 From being *Subjects*, that ye *Rebels* are
 Against his Holy Government, and strive
 Others from their Allegiance too to drive ?
 What *Earthly Prince* such an *Affront* would bear
 From any of his Subjects, shou'd they dare
 So to encroach on his Prerogative !
 Which of them wou'd permit that Man to live !
 What shou'd it be adjudg'd but *Treason* ? And
 Death he must suffer for it, out of hand,

And shall the *King of Kings* such *Treason* see
 Acted against him, and the Traytors be
 Acquitted ! No, *vengeance* is his: and They
 That him *provoke* shall know he will repay.

And of a Truth, provoked he hath been
 In a high manner by this daring Sin
 Of Usurpation, and of Tyranny
 Over Mens *consciences*, which should be free
 To Serve the *Living God* as he requires,
 And as his Holy Spirit them Inspires.
 For Conscience is an Inward thing, and none
 Can govern that aright but God alone.
 Nor can a well-Informed Conscience low'r
 Her Sails to any Temporary Pow'r,
 Or bow to Mens Decrees : For that would be
 Treason in a Superlative Degree ;
 For God alone can Laws to Conscience give,
 And that's a Badge of his PREROGATIVE.

This is the Controversie of this Day
 Between the Holy God and sinful Clay.
 God hath throughout the Earth Proclaim'd that he
 Will over Conscience hold the Sov'raignty,
 That he the Kingdom to Himself will take,
 And in Man's Heart his residence will make :
 From whence his subjects shall such Laws receive
 As please his *Royal Majesty* to give,

Man heeds not this: but most audaciously,
Says, *Unto me belongs Supremacy ;*
And all Mens Consciences, within my Land,
Ought to be subject unto my Command.

God, by his Holy Spirit, doth direct
His people how to Worship ; and expect
Obedience from them. Man says: *I ordain*
That none shall Worship in that way, on pain
Of Prison, Confiscation, Banishment,
Or being to the Stake or Gallows Sent.

God out of *Babylon* doth People call ;
Commands them to forsake her Ways, and all
Her sev'ral sorts of Worship, to deny
Her whole Religion as *Idolatry*.

Will Man thus his usurped Pow'r forgo,
And lose his ill-got Government ? Oh no :
But out comes his enacted, be't *That all*
Who, when the Organs Play will not down fall
Before this Golden Image, and adore
What I have caus'd to be set up ; therefore
Into the fiery Furnace shall be cast :
And be Consumed with a flaming Blast.
Or, in the mildest Terms, Conform or Pay
So much a Month, or so much ev'ry Day,
Which we will Levy on you, by Distress,
Sparing nor Widow, nor the Fatherless :
And if you have not what will satisfie,
Y'are like in Prison during Life to lie.
Christ says, *Swear not ;* But man says, *Swear, or lie*
In Prison, Premunir'd, until you Die.
Man's Ways are, in a Word, as Opposite
To God's, as Midnight-darkness is to Light.
And yet fond Man doth strive with *Might and Main*
By *Penal Laws* God's People to constrain
To Worship *What, When, Where, How* he thinks fit,
And to whatever he Injoyns, submit.

What will the Issue of this Contest be ?
Which must give place—the *Lord's* or *Man's* Decree ?
Will Man be in the Day of *Battel* found
Able to keep the Field, maintain his Ground,

Against the Mighty God ! No more than can
The lightest *Chaff* before the Winnowing Fan :
No more than *Straw* could stand before the Flame
Or smallest atoms when a whirlwind came ?

The LORD (who in Creation only said
Let us make Man, and forthwith Man was made)
Can, in a Moment, by one Blast of Breath
Strike all Mankind with an Eternal Death.
How soon can God all Man's Devices squash,
And, with his Iron Rod, in Pieces dash
Him, like a Potter's Vessel ! None can stand
Against the mighty Power of his Hand,

Be therefore wise, ye Kings, instructed be,
Ye Rulers of the Earth, and henceforth see
Ye serve the Lord in Fear, and stand in aw
Of sinning any more against his Law,
His *Royal Law of Liberty* : to do
To others as you'd have them do to you.
Oh stoop, ye *mighty Monarchs*, and let none
Reject his Government, but Kiss the Son
While's Wrath is but a little kindled, lest
His Anger burn, and you that have transgressed
His Law so oft, and wou'd not Him obey,
Eternally shou'd perish from the Way ;
The Way of *God's Salvation*, where the Just
Are bles'd who in the Lord do put their trust.

Felix quem faciunt aliena Pericula cautum.

Happy's He
Whom others Harms do wary make to be,

As the unreasonable Rage and furious Violence
of the Persecutors had drawn the former *Ex-
postulation* from me : so in a while after, my
heart being deeply affected with a Sense of the
great *Loving-kindness* and *tender Goodness* of
the LORD to his People, in bearing up their
Spirits in their greatest Exercises, and preserving

them through the sharpest Tryals, in a faithful Testimony to his blessed TRUTH, and opening, in due time, a Door of Deliverance to them, I could not forbear to celebrate his Praises in the following Lines, under the Title of

A SONG OF THE MERCIES AND DELIVERANCES
OF THE LORD.

HAD not the Lord been on our Side,
 May Israel now say,
We were not able to abide
 The Tryals of that day.

When Men did up against us rise,
 With Fury, Rage and Spight,
Hoping to catch us by surprize,
 Or run us down by Might.

Then had not God for us arose,
 And shewn his mighty Power,
We had been swallow'd by our Foes
 Who waited to devour.

When the joint-Powers of Death and Hell
 Against us did combine :
And, with united Forces, fell
 Upon us, with design,

To Root us out, then had not God
 Appear'd to take our Part,
And them chastized with his Rod,
 And made them feel the Smart :

We then had overwhelmed been
 And trodden in the Mire ;
Our Enemies on us had seen
 Their cruel Hearts Desire.

When Ston't, when Stock't, when rudely strip't
 Some, to the Waste have been,
(Without regard of Sex), and whip't,
 Until the Blood did spin :

Yea, when their *Shins* with *Stripes* look't black,
Their Flesh to Jelly beat,
Enough to make their Sinews crack,
The Lashes were so great :

Then had not God been with them to
Support them, they had dy'd,
His Pow'r it was that bore them thro',
Nothing cou'd do't beside.

When into Prisons we were throng'd
(Where *Pestilence* was rife)
By bloody-minded Men that long'd
To take away our Life ;

Then had not God been with us, we
Had perish't there no doubt ;
Twas He preserv'd us there and He
It was that brought us out.

When Sentenced to Banishment
Inhumanly we were,
To be from Native Country sent,
From all that Men call *dear* :

Then had not God been pleas'd t' appear,
And take our Cause in hand,
And struck them with a pannick Fear,
Which put them to a stand.

Nay, had he not great Judgments sent,
And compass'd them about,
They were at that time fully bent
To root us wholly out.

Had he not gone with them that went,
The Seas had been their Graves :
Or, when they came where they were sent,
They had been Sold for slaves.

But God was pleased still to give
Them Favour where they came,
And in his Truth they yet do live
To praise his Holy Name.

And now afresh do Men contrive
 Another wicked Way,
 Of our Estates us to deprive,
 And take our Goods away.

But will the Lord (who, to this Day,
 Our part did always take)
 Now leave us to be made a Prey,
 And that too for his sake ?

Can any one, who calls to mind
 Deliverances past,
 Discourag'd be at what's behind,
 And murmur now at last !

O that no unbelieving Heart
 Among us may be found,
 That from the Lord wou'd now depart,
 And, Coward-like, give ground.

For, without doubt, the God we serve
 Will still our Cause defend,
 If we from him do never swerve
 But trust Him to the End,

What if our Goods by Violence
 From us be torn, and we
 Of all things but our *Innocence*
 Should wholly stripped be ?

Would this be more than did befall
 Good *Job* ? Nay sure, much less :
 He lost *Estate, Children* and all,
 Yet he the LORD did bless,

But did not God his Stock augment
 Double what 'twas before ?
 And this was writ to the Intent
 That we should hope the more,

View but the Lillies of the Field,
 That neither Knit, nor Spin,
 Who is it that to them doth yield
 The Robes they're decked in ?

Doth not the Lord the Ravens feed,
 And for the Sparrows care ?
 And will not He, for his own seed,
 All needful things prepare ?

The Lions shall sharp Hunger bear,
 And pine, for lack of Food :
 But who the Lord do truly fear,
 Shall nothing want that's good.

Oh ! which of us can now diffide
 That God will us defend,
 Who hath been always on our Side,
 And will be to the End.

Spes confisa Deo nunquam confusa recedet.

Hope, which on God is firmly grounded
 Will never fail, nor be confounded.

Scarce was the before-mentioned *Storm* of *Outward Persecution* from the *Government* blown over, when Satan rais'd another *Storm*, of another kind, against us, on this Occasion. The foregoing *Storm* of *Persecution*, as it lasted long, so, in many Parts of the Nation, and particularly at *London*, it fell very sharp and violent, especially on the *Quakers*. For they having no Refuge, but God alone, to fly unto, could not dodge and shift to avoid the Suffering, as others of other Denominations could, and in their worldly Wisdom and Policy did, altering their Meetings, with respect both to Place and Time, and forbearing to meet, when Forbidden or kept out of their Meeting-Houses. So that of the several Sorts of *Dissenters* the *Quakers* only held up a publick Testimony as a *Standard* or *Ensign* of *Religion*, by keeping their Meetings duly and fully at the accustomed Times and Places

(so long as they were suffered to enjoy the Use of their Meeting-Houses :) and when they were shut up and kept out of them by Force, they Assembled in the Streets, as near to their Meeting-Houses as they could.

This bold and truly Christian Behaviour in the *Quakers* disturbed, and not a little displeased, the *Persecutors*, who, fretting, complained, *That the Stubborn Quakers brake their Strength and bore off the Blow from those other Dissenters whom, as they most feared, so they principally aimed at.* For indeed the *Quakers* they rather despised than feared, as being a People from whose peaceable both *Principles* and *Practices* they held themselves secure from danger by ; whereas, having suffered severely, and that lately too, by and under the other *Dissenters*, they thought they had just cause to be apprehensive of Danger from them, and good reason to suppress them.

On the other hand, the more Ingenuous amongst other *Dissenters* of each Denomination, sensible of the Ease they enjoyed by our bold and steady Suffering (which abated the Heat of the Persecutors, and blunted the Edge of the Sword, before it came to them) frankly acknowledged the Benefit received ; calling us *The Bulwark that kept off the force of the Stroke from them*, and praying that *we might be preserved, and enabled to break the Strength of the Enemy* ; nor could some of them forbear (those especially who were called *Baptists*) to express their kind and favourable Opinion of us, and of the Principles we profess'd, which emboldened

us to go through that which but to hear of was a Terror to them.

This their Good-will rais'd Ill-will in some of their Teachers against us, who though willing to reap the Advantage of a Shelter, by a Retreat behind us, during the time that the Storm lasted, yet, partly through an Evil Emulation, partly through Fear, lest they should lose some of those Members of their Society who had discovered such favourable thoughts of our Principles and us, they set themselves, as soon as the Storm was over, to represent us in as ugly a Dress and in as frightful Figure to the World as they could invent and put upon us.

In order whereunto, one *Thomas Hicks*, a Preacher among the *Baptists* at *London*, took upon him to write several Pamphlets successively under the Title of *A Dialogue between a Christian and a Quaker*, which were so craftily contrived that the unwary Reader might conclude them to be (not merely Fictions, but) real Discourses actually held between one of the People called a *Quaker* and some other Person. In these feigned *Dialogues*, *Hicks* (having no regard to Justice or common Honesty) had made his *Counterfeit Quaker* say whatsoever he thought would render him one while sufficiently *Erroneous*, another while *Ridiculous* enough: forging in the *Quaker's* Name some things so abominably false, other things so intolerably foolish, as could not reasonably be supposed to have come into the Conceit, much less to have dropped from the Lip or Pen of any that went under the Name of a *Quaker*.

These *Dialogues* (shall I call them, or rather *Diabologues*) were answered by our *Friend W. Penn*, in two Books; the first being entitled *Reason against Railing*,* the other, *The Counterfeit Christian detected*: in which *Hicks* being charged with manifest as well as manifold *Forgeries*, *Perversions*, *down-right Lyes*, and *Slanders* against the people called *Quakers* in general, *W. Penn*, *G. Whitehead*, and divers others by Name, Complaint was made, by way of an *Appeal*, to the *Baptists* in and about *London*, for Justice against *Thomas Hicks*.

Those *Baptists* (who, it seems, were in the Plot with *Hicks* to defame, at any rate, right or wrong, the People called *Quakers*) taking Advantage of the Absence of *W. Penn* and *G. W.* (who were the Persons most immediately concerned, and who were then gone a long Journey, on the Service of Truth, to be absent from the City, in all probability, for a considerable time) appointed a publick Meeting in one of their Meeting-Houses, under pretence of calling *Thomas Hicks* to account, and hearing the Charge made good against him: but with design to give the greater Stroke to the *Quakers*, when they, who should make good the Charge against *Hicks*, could not be present. For upon their

* Hepworth Dixon, who gives a full account of the controversy in his biography of William Penn, mentions an earlier reply of Penn's than the above work, viz.: *Christian Quaker and his Divine Testimony Vindicated. William Penn: An Historical Biography*, p. 149 *et seq.* Janney also makes mention of this in his *Life of William Penn*, 6th ed., p. 99. See also Penn's *Collected Works*, i., 521.

sending Notice to the lodgings of *W. P.* and *G. W.* of their intended Meeting, they were told by several *Friends*, that both *W. P.* and *G. W.* were from home, travelling in the Countries, uncertain where, and therefore could not be informed of their intended Meeting, either by Letter or Express, within the time by them limited: for which reason they were desired to deferr the Meeting till they could have Notice of it and time to return, that they might be at it. But these *Baptists*, whose Design was otherwise laid, would not be prevailed with to defer their Meeting, but, glad of the Advantage, gave their Brother *Hicks* opportunity to make a colourable Defence where he had his Party to help him and none to oppose him; and having made a Mock Shew of Examining him and his Works of Darkness, they, in fine, having heard one side, Acquitted him.

This gave just Occasion for a New Complaint and Demand of Justice against him and them. For as soon as *W. P.* return'd to *London*, he in Print exhibited his Complaint of this unfair Dealing, and demanded Justice by a rehearing of the Matter in a publick Meeting to be appointed by joint Agreement. This went hardly down with the *Baptists*, nor could it be obtained from them without great Importunity and hard pressing. At length, after many delays and Tricks used to shift it off, constrained by Necessity, they yielded to have a Meeting at their own Meeting-House in *Barbican*,* *London*.

* The meeting was attended by several thousand people, and continued all night. The chief speakers

There, amongst other *Friends*, was I, and undertook to read our Charge there against *Thomas Hicks*, which not without much Difficulty I did; they, inasmuch as the House was theirs, putting all the Inconveniences they could upon us.

The particular Passages and Management of this Meeting (as also of that other which followed soon after, they refusing to give us any other publick Meeting, we were fain to appoint in our own Meeting-House, by *Wheeler-Street*, near *Spittle-Fields*, *London*, and gave them timely notice of) I forbear here to mention; there being in Print a Narrative of each, to which, for particular Information, I refer the Reader.

But to this Meeting *Thomas Hicks* would not come, but lodged himself at an Ale-house hard by; yet sent his Brother *Ives*, with some others of the Party, by clamorous Noises to divert us from the Prosecution of our Charge against him; which they so effectually performed, that they would not suffer the Charge to be heard, tho' often attempted to be read.

As this rude Behaviour of theirs was a Cause of Grief to me, so afterwards, when I understood that they used all evasive Tricks, to avoid another Meeting with us, and refused to do us Right, my Spirit was greatly stirred at their Injustice, and in the Sense thereof, willing, if possible, to have provoked them to more fair

for the Baptists included Jeremy Ives, William Kiffin, Thomas Hicks, Thomas Plant and Robert Ferguson; for the Quakers, George Whitehead, Stephen Crisp, William Penn and George Keith.—Sewel, *History of the Quakers*, ii., 216.

and manly Dealing, I let fly a *Broad-side* at them in a Single Sheet of Paper, under the Title of *A Fresh Pursuit*. In which, having re-stated the *Controversie* between them and us, and reinforced our Charge of Forgery, &c., against *Thomas Hicks* and his Abettors, I offered a fair *Challenge* to them (not only to *Thomas Hicks* himself, but to all those his *Compurgators*, who had before undertaken to acquit him from our Charge, together with their Companion *Jer. Ives*) to give me a fair and publick Meeting, in which I would make good our Charge against him, as *Principal*, and all the rest of them as *Accessaries*. But nothing could provoke them to come fairly forth.

Yet not long after, finding themselves galled by the Narrative lately published of what had passed in the last Meeting near *Wheeler-Street*, they, to help themselves if they could, sent forth a Counter Account of that Meeting and of the former at *Barbican*, as much to the Advantage of their own Cause, as they, upon deliberate Consideration, could contrive it. This was published by *Thomas Plant* (a *Baptist-Teacher*, and one of *Thomas Hicks* his former Compurgators) and bore (but falsly) the Title of *A Contest for Christianity; or, A faithful Relation of two late Meetings, &c.*

To this I quickly wrote and published an Answer. And because I saw the Design and whole drift of the *Baptists* was to shroud *T. Hicks* from our Charge of *Forgery*, under the specious Pretence of his and *their standing up and contending for Christianity*, I gave my Book

this general Title, *Forgery no Christianity; or, a Brief Examen of a late Book, &c.* And having, from their own Book plainly convicted that which they called *A faithful Relation* to be indeed *A false Relation*, I, in an *Expostulatory Postscript* to the *Baptists*, reinforced our Charge and my former Challenge: Offering to make it good against them, before a publick and free Auditory. But they were too wary to appear further, either in Person or in Print.

This was the End of that Controversie, which was observed to have this Issue: That what those Dialogues were written to prevent was, by the Dialogues, and their unfair, unmanly, unchristian Carriage, in endeavouring to defend them, hastened and brought to pass: for not a Few of the *Baptists*-Members upon this Occasion left their Meetings and Society, and came over to the *Quakers*-Meetings and were joined in Fellowship with them. Thanks be to God.

Then many of the most eminent among the *Baptists*, in and about *London*, engaged 'em-selves in this Quarrel: to have defended, or, at least, to have brought fairly off (if it had been possible) their Brother *Hicks*: yet the Main Service lay upon *Jeremy Ives*, Who, having been an unsuccessful Trader in *Cheese*, and therein failed more than once, had now for some time given over that Imployment, and (like a Mercenary *Switzer*) undertook to be the Champion for the *Baptists*, and to maintain their Quarrels, against all Comers.

His Name was up, for a topping Disputant. He seemed, I confess, well read in the *Falacies*

of *Logick*, and indeed was rather ready, than true and sound, in framing *Syllogisms*. But his chief Art lay in Tickling the Humours of rude, unlearned and injudicious Hearers ; thereby insinuating himself into their good Opinion : and then Bantering his Opponent.

He lived some Years, I think, after this ; but the Impression his crafty false and frothy Carriage (as well at this time as before) had made upon my Mind, drew from me, when I heard of his Death, something like an Epitaph, in a drolling Stile, as himself was wont to Use.*

The Controversie which had been raised by those cavilling *Baptists* had not been long ended before another was raised, by an *Episcopal* Priest in *Lincolnshire* : Who, fearing, as it seemed, to lose some of his Hearers to the *Quakers*, wrote a Book which he mis-called, *A Friendly Conference between a Minister and a Parishioner of his inclining to Quakerism*. In which he Mis-stated and greatly Perverted the *Quakers* Principles, that he might thereby beget in his Parishioners an Aversion to them : And that he might Abuse us the more securely, he concealed himself, sending forth his Book without a Name.

This Book coming to my Hand, became my Concern (after I had read it, and considered the evil Management, and worse Design thereof) to Answer it : Which I did in a Treatise called

* This epitaph is omitted. It cannot be said to do any credit to Ellwood, who was evidently carried away by bitter feeling engendered by the many unjust charges made against the Quakers.

Truth Prevailing, and Detecting Error. Published in the Year 1676.

My Answer I divided, according to the several Subjects handled in the Conference, into divers distinct Chapters, the last of which treated of **TYTHES**.

This being the Priests *Delilah*, and that Chapter of mine pinching them (it seems) in a tender part, the Belly, they laid their Heads together, and with what speed they could, sent forth a distinct Reply to the last Chapter of *Tythes* in mine, under the title of *The Right of Tythes Asserted and Proved*. This also came forth without a Name, yet pretended to be written by another Hand.

Before I had finished my Rejoynder to this came forth another called *A Vindication of the Friendly Conference*, said to be written by the Author of the feigned Conference, who was not yet willing to trust the World with his Name. So much of it as related to the Subject I was then upon, *Tythes*, I took into my Rejoinder to the *Right of Tythes*, which I Published in the Year 1678, with this Title, *The Foundation of Tythes Shaken, &c.*

After this it was a pretty while before I heard from either of them again. But at length came forth a Reply to my Last, supposed to be written by the same Hand, who had before written the *Right of Tythes Asserted, &c.*, but still without a Name. This latter Book had more of Art than Argument in it. It was indeed a *Hash* of ill-cook'd *Crambe* set off with as much Flourish as the Author was Master of, and swell'd into

Bulk by many Quotations: But those so wretchedly misgiven, misapplied, or perverted, that to a judicious and impartial Reader I durst oppose my *Foundation of Tythes Shaken* to the utmost Force that Book has in it. Yet, it coming forth at a time when I was pretty well at leisure, I intended a full Refutation thereof, and in order thereunto had written between Forty and Fifty Sheets, when other Business, more urgent, intervening, took me off, and detained me from it so long, that it was then judged out of Season, and so it was laid aside.*

Hitherto the War I had been engag'd in was, in a sort, Foreign, with people of other Religious Perswasions, such as were open and avowed Enemies. But now another sort of War arose, an intestine War, raised by some among our selves—such as had once been of us, and yet retained the same Profession, and would have been thought to be of us still. But having through ill-grounded Jealousies let in Discontents and thereupon fallen into Jangling, chiefly about Church-Discipline, they at length brake forth into an open Schism, headed by two Northern Men of Name and Note, *John Wilkinson* and *John Story*. The latter of which, As being the most active and popular Man, having gained a considerable Interest in the *West*, carried the Controversie with him

* A summary of Ellwood's controversial writings will be found in the extracts from Joseph Wyeth's *Supplement*, p. 287 *et seq.*

thither, and there spreading it, drew many, too many, to abet him therein.*

Among those, *William Rogers*, a Merchant of *Bristol*, was not the least, nor least accounted of (by himself and some others). He was a bold and active Man, moderately Learned, but immoderately Conceited of his own Parts and Abilities, which made him forward to Engage, as thinking none would dare to take up the Gauntlet he should cast down. This high opinion of himself made him rather a Troublesome than Formidable Enemy.

That I may here step over the various steps by which he advanced to open Hostility (as what I was not Actually or Personally engaged in) : He in a while arrived to that height of folly and Wickedness, that he Wrote and Published a large Book in Five Parts, to which he Maliciously gave for a Title *The Christian Quaker distinguished from the Apostate and Innovator*, thereby Arrogating to himself and those who were of his party, the topping Stile of *Christian Quaker*, and no less Impiously, than uncharitably branding and rejecting all others (even the main Body of *Friends*) for *Apostates* and *Innovators*.

When this Book came abroad it was not a little (and He, for its sake) cried up by his injudicious Admirers, whose Applause setting

* For further account of John Wilkinson, John Story and William Rogers and their controversy, the reader is referred to John S. Rowntree's *Micah's Mother ; or a Neglected Chapter in Church History* ; also to *The Journal of the Friends' Historical Society*, vol. i., p. 57, etc.

his Head afloat, he came up to *London* at the time of the *Yearly-Meeting* then following, and at the Close thereof gave notice in writing to this effect, viz., *That if any were Dissatisfied with his Book he was there ready to Maintain and Defend both it and himself against all Comers.*

This daring Challenge was neither dreaded nor slighted ; but an Answer forthwith returned in Writing (Signed by a few *Friends*, amongst whom I was one) to let him know that, as many were Dissatisfied with his Book and him, he should not fail (God willing) to be met by the Sixth Hour next Morning at the Meeting Place at *Devonshire House*.

Accordingly we met, and continued the Meeting till Noon, or after, in which time he (surrounded with those of his own Party, as might abet and assist him) was so fairly foiled and baffled, and so fully exposed, that he was glad to quit the Place, and early next Morning the Town also, leaving, in excuse for his going so abruptly off (and thereby refusing us another Meeting with him, which we had earnestly provoked him to) this slight shift that he had before given Earnest for his Passage in the Stage-Coach home, and was not willing to lose it.

I had before this gotten a sight of his Book, and procured one for my use on this occasion, but I had not time to read it thorow. But a while after, Providence cast another of them into my Hands very unexpectedly : For our dear Friend *G. Fox* passing through this Country among *Friends*, and lying in his Journey at my House, had one of them in his Bags, which



GEORGE FOX.

From the original portrait by Fairland.

he had made some Marginal Notes upon. For that good Man (like *Julius Cæsar*) willing to improve all parts of his time, did usually, even in his Travels, dictate to his *Amanuensis* what he would have committed to Writing. I knew not that he had this Book with him (for he had not said anything to me of it) till going in the Morning into his Chamber, while he was Dressing himself, I found it lying on the Table by him. And understanding that he was going but for a few Weeks to Visit *Friends* in the Meetings hereabouts, and the Neighbouring parts of *Oxford and Berkshire*, and so return through this County again, I made bold to ask him if he would Favour me so much as to leave it with me till his Return, that I might have the opportunity of reading it thorow. He consented, and as soon almost as he was gone I set myself to read it over. But I had not gone far in it, e're, observing the many foul Falsehoods, malicious slanders, gross perversions, and false Doctrines abounding in it, the sense thereof inflamed my Breast with a Just and Holy Indignation against the Work, and that Devilish Spirit in which it was brought forth. Wherefore, finding my Spirit raised and my Understanding Divinely opened to Refute it, I began the Book again, and reading it with Pen in Hand, Answered it Paragraphically as I went. And so clear were the openings I received from the Lord therein, that by the time my *Friend* came back I had gone through the greatest part of it, and was too far engaged in Spirit to think of giving over the work: Wherefore, requesting

him to continue the Book a little longer with me, I soon after finished the Answer, which, with *Friends* Approbation, was Printed under the Title of *An Antidote against the Infection of W. Rogers his Book, miscalled The Christian Quaker, &c.* This was written in the Year 1682. But no Answer was given to it (either by him or any other of his Party, though many others were concerned therein, and some by Name), so far as I have ever heard. Perhaps there might be the Hand of Providence overruling them therein, to give me leisure to attend some other Services which soon after fell upon me.

For it being a Stormy time, and Persecution waxing hot, upon the Conventicle Act, through the busie Boldness of Hungry Informers, who for their own Advantage did not only themselves hunt after Religious and Peaceable Meetings, but drove on the Officers (not only the more Inferior and Subordinate, but, in some places, even the Justices also), for fear of Penalties, to Hunt with them and for them: I found a Pressure upon my Spirit to write a small Treatise to inform such Officers how they might secure and defend themselves from being ridden by those Malapert Informers, and made their Drudges.

This Treatise I called *A Caution to Constables and other Inferior Officers concerned in the Execution of the Conventicle Act. With some Observations thereupon, humbly offered by way of Advice to such Well-meaning and Moderate Justices of the Peace as would not willingly Ruin their Peaceable Neighbours, &c.*

This was thought to have some good Service, where it came, upon such Sober and Moderate Officers, as well *Justices* as *Constables*, &c., as acted rather by Constraint than Choice, by encouraging them to stand their Ground, with more Courage and Resolution against the Insults of sawcy Informers.

But whatever Ease it brought to others, it brought me some Trouble, and had like to have brought me into more Danger, had not Providence wrought my Deliverance by an unexpected way.

For as soon as it came forth in Print (which was in the Year 1683), one *William Ayrs*, of *Walford* in *Hertfordshire*, a *Friend*, and an Acquaintance of mine (who was both an *Apothecary* and *Barber*), being acquainted with divers of the Gentry in those parts, and going often to some of their Houses to Trim them, took one of these Books with him, when he went to Trim Sir *Benjamin Titchborn* of *Rickmansworth*, and presented it to him: supposing He would have taken it kindly, as in like Cases he had formerly done. But it fell out otherwise. For he, looking it over after *Ayrs* was gone, and taking it by the wrong Handle, entertained an evil Opinion of it, and of me for it, though he knew me not.

He thereupon communicated both the Book and his Thoughts upon it to a Neighbouring Justice, living in *Rickmansworth*, whose Name was *Thomas Fotherly*, who concurring with him in Judgment, they concluded that I should be taken up and Prosecuted for it as a Seditious

Book. For a Libel they could not call it, my Name being to it at length.

Wherefore, sending for *Ayrs*, who had brought the Book, Justice *Titchborn* examined him if *he knew me, and where I dwell*. Who telling him, *He knew me well, and had been often at my House*, He gave him in charge to give me Notice that *I should appear before him and the other Justice at Rickmansworth on such a Day*: Threatening that, *if I did not Appear, he himself should be Prosecuted for spreading the Book*.

This put *William Ayrs* in a Fright. Over he came in hast with his Message to me, troubled that he should be a means to bring me into Trouble. But I endeavour'd to give him Ease, by assuring him I would not fail (with God's leave) to appear at the Time and Place appointed, and thereby free him from Trouble or Danger.

In the Interim I received Advice, by an Express out of *Sussex*, that *Guli Penn* (with whom I had had an intimate Acquaintance and firm Friendship from our very Youths), was very dangerously Ill (her Husband being then absent in *Pennsylvania**), and that she had a great desire to see and speak with me.

This put me to a great Straight, and brought a sore Exercise on my Mind. I was divided betwixt Honour and Friendship. I had engaged my word to appear before the Justices; which to omit would bring Dishonour on me and my Profession. To stay till that time was come and

* *William Penn* sailed for America from Deal in the *Welcome*, in 1682. He was absent from England two years, landing on his return in *Sussex*, October, 1684.



WILLIAM PENN.

past might probably prove (if I should then be left at Liberty), too late to answer her Desire and satisfie Friendship.

After some little deliberation I resolv'd (as the best Expedient to answer both Ends), to go over next Morning to the Justices, and lay my Straight before them, and try if I could procure from them a Respite of my Appearance before them until I had been in *Sussex* and paid the Duty of Friendship to my Sick *Friend*; which I had the more hopes to obtain, because I knew those Justices had a great respect for *Guli*. For when *William Penn* and she were first Married, they lived for some Years at *Rickmansworth*, in which time they contracted a Neighbourly Friendship with both these Justices and theirs, who ever after retained a kind regard for them both.

Early therefore in the Morning I rode over. But being wholly a Stranger to the Justices, I went first to *Watford*, that I might take *Ayrs* along with me, who supposed himself to have some Interest in Justice *Titchborn*: And when I came there, understanding that another *Friend* of that Town, whose name was *John Wells*, was well acquainted with the other Justice *Fotherly*: having imparted to them the Occasion of my coming, I took them both with me, and hasted back to *Rickmansworth*. Where having put our Horses up at an Inn, and leaving *W. Ayrs* (who was a Stranger to *Fotherly*) there, I went with *John Wells* to *Fotherly's* House: and being brought into a fair Hall, I tarried there while *Wells* went into the Parlour

to him, and having acquainted him that I was there and desired to speak with him, brought him to me, with severity in his Countenance.

After he had asked me (in a Tone which spake Displeasure) *what I had to say to him?* I told him I came to wait on him, upon an Intimation given me that he had something to say to me: He thereupon plucking my Book out of his Pocket, asked me, *If I owned my self to be the Author of that Book?* I told him, If he pleased to let me look into it, if it were mine, I would not deny it. He thereupon giving it into my Hand, when I had turned over the Leaves and look'd it through, finding it to be as it came from the Press, I told him I wrote the Book, and would own it, all but the Errors of the Press. Whereupon he, looking sternly on me, answered, *Your own errors, you should have said.*

Having Innocency on my side, I was not at all daunted at either his Speech or Looks: but feeling the Lord present with me, I replied, *I know there are Errors of the Press in it, and therefore I Excepted them: but I do not know there is any Error of mine in it, and therefore cannot except them.* But (added I) if thou pleasest to shew me any Error of mine in it, I shall readily both acknowledge and retract it. And thereupon I desired him to give me an Instance, in any one Passage in that Book, wherein he thought I had Erred. He said, *he needed not go to particulars, but charge me with the general Contents of the whole Book.* I replied that such a Charge would be too

General for me to give a Particular Answer to : but if he would assign me any Particular Passage or Sentence in the Book, wherein he apprehended the ground of Offence to lie, when I should have opened the Terms, and explained my Meaning therein, he might perhaps find cause to change his Mind and entertain a better Opinion both of the Book and me. And therefore I again entreated him to let me know what particular Passage or Passages had given him an offence. He told me, *I needed not to be in such haste for that, I might have it timely enough, if not too soon. But this, said he, is not the Day appointed for your Hearing ; and therefore* (added he), *what, I pray, made you in such hast to come now ?* I told him I hoped he would not take it for an Argument of Guilt, that I came before I was sent for : and offered my self to my Purgation before the time appointed. And this I spake with somewhat a brisker Air : which had so much Influence on him, as to bring a somewhat softer Air over his Countenance.

Then, going on, I told him I had a particular Occasion which induced me to come now, which was, That I received Advice last Night by an Express out of *Sussex*, That *William Penn's* Wife (with whom I had had an Intimate Acquaintance, and strict Friendship, *ab ipsis ferè Incunabilis*,* at least *à teneris Unguiculis*,†) lay now there very ill, not without great Danger (in the Apprehension of those about her) of her life : and that she had exprest her desire

* Almost from our cradle. † From our tender age.

that I would come to her as soon as I could ; the rather, for that her Husband was absent in *America*. That this had brought a great Straight upon me, being divided between *Friendship* and *Duty* : willing to visit my Friend in her Illness, which the Nature and Law of Friendship required : yet unwilling to omit my *Duty*, by failing of my Appearance (before him and the other Justice) according to their Command and my Promise ; lest I should thereby subject, not my own Reputation only, but the Reputation of my Religious Profession, to the Suspicion of Guilt, and Censure of willingly shunning a Tryal. To prevent which I had chosen to anticipate the time, and came now to see if I could give them Satisfaction in what they had to object against me, and thereupon being dismiss, pursue my Journey into *Sussex* : or if by them detained, to submit to Providence, and by an Express to acquaint my Friend therewith, both to free her from an Expectation of my Coming and my Self from any Imputation of Neglect.

While I thus delivered my self I observed a sensible Alteration in the Justice ; and when I had done speaking, he first said he was *very sorry for Madam Penn's Illness*, of whose Virtue and Worth he spake very highly (yet not more than was her due :) Then he told me, *That for her sake he would do what he could to further my Visit to her. But*, said he, *I am but one, and of my self can do nothing in it : therefore you must go to Sir Benjamin Titchborn, and, if he be at home, see if you can prevail with him to meet me, that we may consider of it. But I can assure*

you, added he, the matter which will be laid to your Charge, concerning your Book, is of greater Importance than you seem to think it. For your Book has been laid before the KING and Council, and the Earl of Bridgwater (who is one of the Council) hath thereupon given us Command to Examine you about it, and secure you.*

I wish, said I, I could speak with the Earl myself : for I make no doubt but to acquit myself unto him : And, added I, if thou pleasest to give me thy Letter to him, I will wait upon him with it forthwith. For although I know, continued I, that he hath no Favour for any of my Perswasion, yet knowing myself to be wholly innocent in this Matter, I can with Confidence appear before him, or even before the King in Council.

Well, said he, I see you are Confident ; but for all that, let me tell you, how good soever your intention was, you timed the publishing of your Book very Unluckily : for you cannot be ignorant that there is a very dangerous Plot lately Discovered, Contrived by the Dissenters against the Government and His MAJESTY's life. (This was the Rie-Plot, then newly broke forth, and laid upon the Presbyterians). And for you, added he, to publish a Book just at that Juncture of Time, to discourage the Magistrates and other Officers from putting in Execution those Laws which were made to suppress their Meetings, looks, I must tell you, but with a Scurvy Countenance upon you.

* John Egerton, second Earl of Bridgwater, was Lord Lieutenant of Buckinghamshire. He seems to have persecuted Quakers, Nonconformists and Romanists with great impartiality.

If (replied I with a somewhat pleasanter Air) there was any Mis-timing in the Case, it must lie on the part of those Plotters for timing the breaking forth of their Plot while my Book was Printing, for I can bring very good Proof that my Book was in the Press and well-nigh wrought off before any Man talked or knew of a Plot, but those who were in it.

Here our Discourse ended, and I, taking, for the present, my leave of him, went to my Horse, and, changing my Companion, rode to Justice *Titchborn's*, having with me *William Ayrs*, who was best acquainted with him, and who had casually brought this Trouble on me.

When he had introduced me to *Titchborn*, I gave him a like Account of the Occasion of my coming at that time as I had before given to the other Justice. And both he and his Lady (who was present) exprest much concern for *Guli Penn's* Illness.

I found this Man to be of quite another Temper than Justice *Fotherly* : for this man was smooth, soft, and oily ; whereas the other was rather rough, severe, and sharp. Yet at the winding-up I found *Fotherly* my truest Friend.

When I had told Sir *B. Titchborn* that I came from Justice *Fotherly*, and requested him to give him a Meeting, to consider of my Business, he readily, without any Hesitation, told me he would go with me to *Rickmansworth* (from which his House was distant about a Mile :) and calling for his Horses, mounted immediately, and to *Rickmansworth* we rode.

After they had been a little while together,

I was called in before them, and in the first place they Examined me, *what was my Intention and Design in writing that Book*. I told them the Introductory Part of it gave a plain Account of it (*viz*). "That it was to get Ease from "the Penalties of a *Severe Law* often Executed "with too great a Severity by unskilful Officers, "who were driven on beyond the Bounds of "their *Duty*, by the impetuous Threats of "a sort of Insolent Fellows (as needy as greedy) "who, for their own Advantage, sought our "Ruin." To prevent which was the Design and Drift of that Book, by acquainting such Officers how they might safely demean themselves in the Execution of their Offices towards their honest and peaceable Neighbours, without ruining either their Neighbours or themselves, to enrich some of the worst of Men. And that I humbly conceived It was neither Unlawful nor Unreasonable for a Sufferer to do this : so long as it was done in a fair, sober, and peaceable Way.

They then put me in Mind of the Plot ; told me *It was a troublesome and dangerous time, and my Book might be construed to import Sedition, in discouraging the Officers from putting the Laws in Execution, as by Law and by their Oath they were bound*. And in fine brought it to this Issue, That *they were directed to secure me, by a Commitment to Prison, until the Assize, at which I should receive a further Charge than they were provided now to give me : but because they were desirous to forward my Visit to Madam Penn, they told me they would admit me to bail,*

and therefore, if I would enter a Recognizance, with sufficient Sureties, for my Appearance at the next Assize, they would leave me at Liberty to go on my Journey.

I told them I could not do it. They said *they would give me as little Trouble as they could, and therefore they would not put me to seek Bail : but accept those two Friends of mine who were then present, to be bound with me for my Appearance.*

I let them know my Straight lay not in the Difficulty of procuring *Sureties*, for I did not suppose my self to have sufficient Acquaintance and Credit in that Place, if, on such an Occasion, I could be free to use it : but as I knew my self to be an Innocent Man, I had not Satisfaction in my self to desire others to be bound for me, nor to enter my self into a Recognizance, that carrying in it (to my Apprehension) a Reflection on my Innocency and the Reputation of my Christian Profession.

Here we stuck and struggled about this a pretty while, till at length, finding me fixed in my Judgment, and resolved rather to go to Prison than give Bail, they ask'd me *If I was against Appearing, or only against being bound with Sureties to Appear.* I told them I was not against Appearing, which as I could not avoid, if I would, so I would not if I might : but was ready and willing to Appear, if required, to answer whatsoever should be charged against me. But in any Case of a Religious Nature, or wherein my Christian Profession was concerned (which I took this Case to be), I could

not yield to give any other or further Security than my Word or Promise as a Christian.

They, unwilling to commit me, took hold of that, and ask'd, *If I would promise to Appear.* I answered, Yes ; with due Limitations. *What do you mean by due Limitations,* said they. I mean, replied I, if I am not disabled or prevented by Sickness or Imprisonment. For (added I) as you alledge that it is a troublesome Time, I perhaps may find it so. I may, for aught I know, be seized and imprisoned elsewhere, on the same Account for which I now stand here before you, and if I should, how then could I appear at the Assize in this county ? *Oh,* said they, *these are due Limitations indeed ! Sickness or Imprisonment are lawful Excuses, and if either of these befall you, we shall not expect your Appearance here : but then you must Certifie us that you are so disabled by Sickness or Restraint.*

But, said I, how shall I know when and where I shall wait upon you again, after my Return from Sussex ? *You need not,* said they, *trouble your self about that : we will take care to give you Notice of both Time and Place, and till you hear from us you may dispose your self as you please.*

Well, then, said I, I do promise you that when I shall have received from you a fresh Command to Appear before you, I will (if the Lord permit me Life, Health, and Liberty) appear when and where you shall appoint.

It is enough, said they, *we will take your Word.* And desiring me to give their hearty

Respects and Service to Madam *Penn*, they dismiss me with their good Wishes for a good Journey.

I was sensible that in this they had dealt very favourably and kindly with me : therefore I could not but acknowledge to them the Sense I had thereof. Which done, I took leave of them, and mounting, returned home with what haste I could, to let my Wife know how I had sped. And having given her a summary Account of the Business, I took Horse again, and went so far that Evening towards *Worminghurst* that I got thither pretty early next Morning, and, to my great Satisfaction, found my Friend in a hopeful way towards Recovery.

I stay'd some Days with her, and then, finding her illness wear daily off, and some other *Friends* being come from *London* to visit her, I (mindful of my Engagement to the Justices, and unwilling by too long an Absence to give them Occasion to suspect I was willing to avoid their Summons) leaving those other *Friends* to bear her Company longer, took my Leave of her and them, and set my Face homewards, carrying with me the welcome Account of my *Friend's* Recovery.

Being returned home, I waited in daily Expectation of a Command from the Justices to appear again before them : but none came. I spake with those *Friends* who had been with me when I was before them : and they said, They *had heard nothing of it from them, although they had since been in Company with them.* At length the Assize came, but no notice was given to me that I should appear there : In fine,

they never troubled themselves nor me any further about it.

Thus was a Cloud, that looked black and threatned a great Storm, blown gently over by a providential Breath, which I could not but, with a thankful Mind, acknowledge to the All-great, All-good, All-wise Disposer, in whose Hand and at whose Command the Hearts of all Men, even the Greatest, are, and who turns their Counsels, disappoints their Purposes, and defeats their Designs and Contrivances as he pleases. For if my dear Friend *Guli Penn* had not fallen Sick; if I had not thereupon been sent for to her, I had not prevented the time of my Appearance, but had appeared on the day appointed: And, as I afterwards understood, that was the Day appointed for the Appearance of a great many Persons of the dissenting Party in that Side of the Country, who were to be taken up and secured on account of the afore-mentioned plot, which had been cast upon the *Presbyterians*. So that if I had then appeared with and amongst them, I had in all likelihood been sent to Goal with them for Company, and that under the Imputation of a *Plotter*: than which nothing was more contrary to my Profession and Inclination.

But though I came off so easie, it fared not so well with others: for the Storm increasing, many *Friends* in divers Parts, both of City and Country, suffered greatly; the Sense whereof did deeply affect me: and the more for that I observed the Magistrates, not thinking the Laws which had been made against us severe

enough, perverted the Law in order to punish us. For calling our peaceable Meetings *Riots* (which in the legal Notion of the Word [Riot] is a *Contradiction in Terms*) they Indicted our *Friends* as *Rioters* for only sitting in a Meeting, tho' nothing was there either said or done by them, and then set Fines on them at pleasure.*

This I knew to be not only against *Right* and *Justice*, but even against Law; and it troubled me to think that we should be made to suffer not only by *Laws* made directly against us, but even by *Laws* that did not at all concern us. Nor was it long before I had Occasion offered more thoroughly to consider this Matter.

For a Justice of the Peace in this County (who was called Sir *Denis Hampson*,† of *Taplow*) breaking in with a Party of Horse upon a little Meeting near *Woobourn*, in his Neighbourhood, the 1st of the *Fifth Month*, 1683, sent most of the Men, to the Number of *Twenty-three*, whom he found there, to *Alesbury* Prison, though most of them were poor Men, who lived by their Labour: and not going himself to the next

* Mr. Summers mentions the case of George Fownes, the eminent Baptist Minister of Bristol, who was arrested when riding to a meeting, and charged with riot, upon which he wittily replied that George and his horse could not commit a riot, unless Thomas and William were present to assist.—*Jordans and the Chalfonts*. Ellwood returns to the subject in his *Discourse concerning Riots* (see p. 288).

† Returned as Member of Parliament for Wycombe in 1685.



AYLESBURY, FROM AN OLD PRINT.

The Old County Hall and Gaol are the two buildings immediately above the men in the foreground.

Quarter-Sessions at *Buckingham*, on the 12th of the same Month, sent his Clark with Direction, *That they should be Indicted for a Riot*. Whither the Prisoners were carried and Indicted accordingly, and being pressed by the Court to *Traverse* and *give Bail*, they moved to be tryed forthwith, but that was denied them. And they, giving in Writing the Reason of their refusing *Bail* and *Fees*, were remanded to Prison till next *Quarter-Sessions*; but *William Woodhouse* was again Bailed (as he had been before) and *William Mason* and *John Reeve* who not being *Friends*, but casually taken at that Meeting, entered *Recognizance* as the Court desired, and so were released till next *Sessions*. Before which time *Mason* died, and *Reeve* being sick, appeared not, but got himself taken off. And in the *Eighth Month* following, the *Twenty-one* Prisoners that remained were brought to Tryal; a Jury was found, who brought in a pretended Verdict, that they were *Guilty of a Riot* for only sitting peaceably together, without Word or Action, and though there was no Proclamation made, nor they required to depart: But one of the Jury-men afterwards did confess he *knew not what a Riot was*; yet the Prisoners were fined a Noble a Piece, and Re-committed to Prison *during Life* (a hard Sentence) or the *King's Pleasure*, or until they should *pay the said Fines*. *William Woodhouse* was forthwith discharged by his Kinsman's paying the *Fine* and *Fees* for him. *Thomas Dell* and *Edward Moor* also, by other People of the World paying their *Fines* and

Fees for them; and shortly after, *Stephen Pewsey*, by the Town and Parish where he lived, for fear his Wife and Children should become a Charge upon them. The other *Seventeen* remained Prisoners till KING *JAMES'S* Proclamation of Pardon: whose Names were *Thomas* and *William Sexton*, *Timothy Child*, *Robert Moor*, *Richard James*, *William* and *Robert Aldridge*, *John Ellis*, *George Salter*, *John Smith*, *William Tanner*, *William Batchelor*, *John Dolbin*, *Andrew Brothers*, *Richard Baldwin*, *John Jennings*, and *Robert Austin*.*

* Further particulars of some of the above will be found in the Biographical Notes in Appendix.

EXTRACTS FROM
JOSEPH WYETH'S* SUPPLEMENT TO
ELLWOOD'S LIFE.

OUR dear Friend *Thomas Ellwood*, for whom we cannot but have an honourable Esteem, for his Service in the Church, having written an *Historical Account* of Part of his Life, well worth the Knowledge of Posterity, so far as it goes; *viz.* to the Year 1683, and there left off. Whether he writ any further; or whether ever he designed it; or for what Reason he did not proceed, is uncertain: but so it is, that no more of it can be found at present; which is to be lamented, he being a Man so Eminent many Ways, that any Part of it should be lost. In Consideration whereof, it rose in my Heart to write something in order to *supply* the Deficiency thereof: many things occurring to my Mind, which its pity should be omitted. Therefore for the Respect I bore him, and owe to his Memory (being acquainted with him for more than the last Twenty Years of his Life) I shall endeavour to make up that Defect as far as I am capable of; tho' far short of what himself might have done, by giving an Account of some of the most material Passages of the remaining Part of his Life; and such Memorials of him, and his Works, as came to my Hands: which I shall set down with as much Brevity and Plainness as I can, in Sincerity to him, and the Truth he professed and adorned. Particularly, of his Labours, Writings, Sufferings and End, from the time he left off. . . .

* See Appendix: Biographical Notes.

And now to come to the time, where he breaks off his own Relation, and to carry it on, in some measure; though far short and inferiour, to what his own Hand could have done: For it cannot be expected, that any one can write another Man's Life like himself; there being many Passages, Publick and Private, Outward and Inward, even as to the frame of his own Mind and Condition, between God and his own Soul; which, as *No Man knoweth the things of a Man, save the Spirit of a Man which is in him*: So none can Relate but himself; or like himself: For as the Wise Man says, *The Heart knoweth his own Bitterness, and the Stranger cannot intermeddle with his Joy*. But what occurs from my own Knowledge, or from his Books and Papers, pertinent to the case in Hand, shall faithfully be Related.

Therefore to resume the Thread of his Discourse, and begin where he leaves off. He intimates at the Close of his own Account that the Magistrates not thinking the Laws made against us (*viz.* the *Conventicle-Act*, &c.) severe enough, perverted the Law, by making our *Peaceable Meetings Riots*; and Indicting our *Friends* as *Rioters*, that they might Fine at Pleasure: Which he knew to be contrary to Law and Justice; nor was it long (says he) before he had occasion offered, more thoroughly to Consider this matter (*viz.* the breaking up of the Meeting near *Wooburn*, by Justice *Hampson*; sending *Friends* to Prison, and Indicting them for a *Riot*;) which shews he design'd to write a Book on that Subject (though he doth not mention it) and accordingly did this Year (after the *Caution to Constables*, &c. as aforesaid). This he called *A Discourse concerning Riots: Occasioned by some of the People called Quakers being Indicted for a Riot, &c.* Of which he gives (by way of Preface) this further Account. "The Proceedings of late in City and Country, against some of the People called *Quakers* for *Riots*, for only Meeting *Peaceably* together to *Serve and Worship G O D*, first put me upon enquiring into the Nature of *Riots*: What, upon inquiry, I have found, I here present to publick View, for common Benefit; that none, through Ignorance, may be the occasion of bringing an *Unjust Suffering* upon an *Innocent People*, and thereby

Guilt on themselves. I do not pretend much Skill in *Law* (a Study and Profession I was never bred to) but having spent some hours on this occasion, in searching what the Law Books say in this Case ; I hope I may (without incurring the Censure of Presumption) communicate my Gleaning to such of my well meaning Country Men, as have not Leisure or Opportunity to inform themselves otherwise. I solemnly declare, I have no other end, or Aim in this Work, than to *do Good*, and *prevent Evil* : Which Consideration, with Men of Candour and Ingenuity, will be, I hope, a sufficient Apology, for my seeming boldness in this Undertaking." . . .

About the same time, or not long after, he writ also, *A Seasonable Disswasive from Persecution : Humbly and Modestly, yet with Christian Freedom, and plainness of Speech, offered to the Consideration of all Concerned therein ; on Behalf generally, of all that Suffer for Conscience sake : Particularly the People called Quakers.* . . .

A solid serious Discourse it is, if any Arguments had been sufficient to dissuade Men from *Persecution* (of which there was very great about this time ; particularly in *London, Bristol*, and divers other Places) the whole being well worth Perusal : and I should have inclined to insert it at large, but that it had pleased God to incline the Hearts of our Superiours to ease us in that respect, by Granting a Toleration to *Protestant Dissenters* : for which we are thankful. These three, *viz. the Caution to Constables, Discourse of Riots*, and *Disswasive from Persecution*, were all Written, or at least Printed, this Year, 1683.

And he acquitted himself so well on these Subjects, that one *William Tourney* (to him unknown) sent him a letter from *London*, taking Notice of the aforesaid *Tracts*, which he was so well pleased with, that he desired his Judgment on the 23d, 29th, and 35th of Q. *ELIZABETH*, in Relation to the Proceedings then upon them ; to which our Friend *T. E.* return'd him an Answer in a large Letter, which is in his Decades of Letters, among many others, to divers Persons,

290 Joseph Wyeth's Supplement. [1684-5

and on various Subjects, well worthy the Perusal, from the Year 1670, down to his latter Times : and if they were published, would help to supply the deficiency of his own Account of the latter Part of his Life.

About this time he writ the following POEM, or HYMN of Praise to the Lord ; which I think well deserves to be inserted in this Place : Intituled,

COLLAUDEMUS DOMINUM.

COME, let us Praise the LORD with one Consent,
 All ye, whose Hearts to honour him are bent.
 Come, let us of his gracious Dealings tell :
 For with us he hath dealt exceeding well,
 When him we did not seek, he did us find,
 He gave us Sight, when we were dark and blind,
 He brought us home, when we were run astray :
 And set our Feet i'th' new and living way.
 When Hunger pin'd he gave us heavenly Bread :
 And, with the choicest Dainties, hath us fed.
 He from mis-leading Guides deliver'd hath,
 And led us forward in the Just Man's Path,
 He hath with Strength and Courage us endu'd,
 With Zeal for Truth and Christian Fortitude ;
 He wisdom from above doth daily give :
 To them that, in his Truth sincerely live.
 In Battle he hath us preserv'd thus far.
 And made us Victors in the Holy War.
 Our Enemies he greatly hath subdu'd,
 His Sword in Blood o' th' slain hath been imbru'd.
 He hath preserved from the Roaring Lion ;
 And brought a little Remnant safe to *Sion*.
 Where, in his Presence, they sit down and Sing
 Eternal *Hallelu-jah's* to their KING,
 Who lives and reigns, and may his Reign extend
 Throughout the Universe, and have no End.

T. E.

But to proceed :

William Rogers, whom our Author Answered in the Year 1682, (as aforesaid) though he did not Reply to it, or ever attempted it that I have heard of, putting forth a Rhiming *Scourge* for *George Whitehead* ; against

1685-8] Joseph Wyeth's Supplement. 291

whom he bent his most Inveterate Spleen, and who had also Answered his great Book, falsely called, *The Christian Quaker*, in a Book intituled, *The Accuser of the Brethren Cast down, &c.* T. E. writ an Answer to his Scourge in Verse, intituled, *Rogero-Mastix, A Rod for William Rogers, in return for his Rhiming Scourge :* For which he gives the following Reason.

*To such as ask why I in verse have writ ?
This Answer I return, I held it fit,
Verse shou'd in Verse be answer'd, Prose in Prose.
My Adversary his own Weapon chose.
He chose before in Prose to write, and then
I answer'd him in Prose. So now agen,
Since he his Stile from Prose to Verse hath chang'd,
And in the Muses Walks hath boldly rang'd,
In his own Method him I chose to treat,
Lest he should wise be in his own Conceit. . . .*

In the Second Month, 1686, he had a Concern upon his Spirit, in a deep Sense of the Enemies working, to sow Divisions, and endeavouring to lay waste the Testimony of Truth, to write an Epistle to *Friends*, which he did, very solidly and weightily ; to stir up Friends to Faithfulness, and to beware of the Enemies Wiles, and avoid that Rending Dividing Spirit, which was then at work, to cause Division and Strife among Friends. . . .

After this, I do not find he writ any thing (only some private Letters in his *Decades*) but lived Retired till the Year 1688. In which time of Privacy (as fittest for it) he began a Work which he did not finish till many Years after ; and that was *The Life of David King of Israel*, in Verse ; which he began for his own Diversion, not thinking then of Printing it, and carried it on to the End of the Third Book. But then the *Prince of Orange* Landing, and the Revolution following, the Nation being in Arms against King *James* ; the Noise of Guns, and Sound of Drums, &c. so disturbed his Meditation, and gentle Muse (which like the *Halcion*, breeds in Calm Weather) that his Poetical Genius left him for a time, and he thereupon left his Work,

292 Joseph Wyeth's Supplement. [1688-92

for above Twenty Years ; of which more hereafter in its Place.

And here he retired again for two Years ; so that I find nothing to Remark of him, either publick or private, but some private Letters, till the Year, 1690, when *John Raunce* and *Charles Harris* of *Wiccomb* in that County, publishing *A Memorial* (as they call'd it) for the present Generation ; and also for that which is to come : *Being an Account from Wiccomb, concerning the Difference, &c.* This *Thomas Ellwood* answered in a Book intituled, *The Account from Wiccomb (lately published by John Raunce and Charles Harris) examined, and found false.* And a Warning thereof given, to all such well-meaning Persons among the People called Quakers, as through Personal Affection, want of Consideration, or Weakness of Judgment, have been betrayed, or may be in danger to be betrayed by them, or any other in the same dividing Spirit with them ; and led aside from the Way of Truth, into a Separation from the People of God ; For whose Recovery and Preservation this is written. . .

The next Book he published, was in 1691, viz. *A Reply to an Answer lately published, to a Book long since written by W. Penn : Intituled, A brief Examination and State of Liberty Spiritual ; both with respect to Persons in their private Capacity, and in their Church Society and Conversation.* Which Book was written, or at least published by *W. Penn*, in the Year 1681. . . .

His next were two Broad-sides ; the first (in 1692, viz. *T. E.'s Answer to so much of Leonard Key's late Printed Sheet as relates to him.* Which Paper of *L. K.'s* was intended mostly to excuse their shutting Friends out of their Meeting-House at *Reading*. But therein taking Occasion to slant at some Passages in *T. E.'s Answer to the Account from Wiccomb* ; gave our Friend *Thomas* an Occasion, not only to open that Matter further ; but also to lay open their Deceit in Relation to that Affair, as well as *L. K.'s*, and his Party at *Reading*.* To which I refer the Reader.

* See *Journal of Friends' Historical Society*, Vol. L, p. 57.

The Second was (in 1693) *viz. Deceit discovered, and Malice manifested*, in L. Key's late Paper from Reading. Thomas being then at London, at the Yearly-Meeting, met with B. Coal's *Expedients, for a true Reconciliation among the People of God called Quakers*: Which L. K. it seems promoted. But when T. E. came home, he found a Letter at his House directed to him, from L. K. with a Printed Sheet inclosed, so different in Terms and Tendency from the other, sign'd by B. C. and C. H. (that proposing Expedients for Peace, this renewing the Difference;) and yet but one Day different in the Dates (this being dated the 3d, the other the 4th of the 4th Month, 1693) that he could not but admire at it; which therefore he compares, and shews the Difference of, and discovers their Deceit in; and not only in that, but also in Relation to the Difference at *Wiccomb*, which they were not yet easie under, and yet would not confess the Truth; but instead thereof J. Raunce endeavours to fix a Slander on T. Ellwood about his Father's Burial, pretending he was not Buried in the right Ground, but among Strangers; he and his Party Riding Twenty Miles, or more, about the Country; and J. R. going himself to the place where he was Buried at *Holton*, to pick up a Stone at the Father's Grave, to throw at the Son, above seven Years after his Death; enquiring, examining, yea, provoking some to pretend as if T. E. had been unkind to his Father, and that they had shew'd him Kindness, to bring Thomas under obligation of Requital, or upbraid him for Ingratitude if he did not. In all which J. R's Malice was manifest more than anything else; for as to the Ground he was buried in, T. E. confesses, he was not so well acquainted with the Grave Yard, as to know the Difference of Places in it or whether some Parts of it be more Holy than others; which he thinks, considering their former Principles, they should not have quarrell'd with him about. However the Place was not of his appointing; for he was prevented of being at the Burial, by a Message his Father received in his Sickness, that his Sister (but which of them he doth not say) lay then Sick in London, near unto Death. After he had waited on his Father

until he had finished his Life, and given Direction for his Interrment, he hastened up to his Sister at *London*, thinking he might be more serviceable to the Living than to the Dead, and knew not in what Part of the Ground his Father was buried, till after his Return from *London*, he went thither to defray the Charges of his Sickness and Funeral, as some of them knew: and therefore the more shame to raise such a Story.* And as to the other of Unkindness, they could prove nothing, but shew their Envy against him; which we shall have Occasion to take further notice of, e're we have done.

The next and last Book he writ in Relation to this Controversie with the Separates, was, *A fair Examination of a foul Paper, called, Observations and Reflections, &c. lately published by John Raunce and Leonard Key*; who after their separate Bickerings, come now to join their Forces together in this Paper, which seems to be Reflections on *T. E.*'s last mentioned Paper; and which Paper of theirs our Friend answers in this Examination, wherein *their Envy is rebuked, and their Folly and Falshood laid open*, in endeavouring to excuse *L. K.*'s former Paper of Revival of the Difference, at the same time when *B. C.*'s Expedient for Reconciliation was for having it all forgotten and buried: which *T. E.* exposes in its proper Colours, beginning thus, "We read among the *Proverbs of Solomon*, that *the Way of the Wicked is as Darkness, they know not at what they Stumble*, Prov. 4. 19. This is verified in *J. Raunce* and *L. Key* and others of their separate Party. Since their turning against the Truth, their way is become as Darkness; they stumble and know not at what. They fall into many idle Absurdities, many gross Follies and Errors, and into many hurtful Evils, and labour to draw others (better than themselves) after them: for whose sake

* In Vol. iv. of *The Yorkshireman*, p. 122, a facsimile is given of the bill for the funeral expenses of the body of Walter Ellwood. The original, in Latin, is in Thomas Ellwood's handwriting. It indicates that he not only paid for all the expenses attendant upon the burial, but also reimbursed certain individuals who had lent money to his father previous to his illness.

chiefly the following Lines are written, that the Deceit and Hypocrisy of these Men, their Falsehood and Envy being further and further laid open, the more Simple and Well-meaning Ones amongst them, may see them as they are, and be no longer beguiled by them. So he goes on to Answer their Cavils, confirming by Certificate his former Charge of their scandalous Practice at *Wiccomb*; then answers their new Slander (the old proving false) *That he suffered his Father to want*; raking into his Ashes when he had been dead above Ten Years, to cast something at his Son (so restless is Envy) as if he had been short in his Duty to his Father: which *T. E.* fairly and clearly wipes off, vindicating himself as to his not being at his father's Burial (which *J. R.* throws at him) though *Thomas* in his last had fairly related the Occasion; which was his Sister's Illness at *London* (though she recovered;) and which one would think might have satisfied any one, not overgrown with Envy; which yet *J. R.* revives again: and also about his Burial, &c. All which appears to be nothing but *J. R.*'s Rancor: which seeing he has made so much a-do about, out of his Inveterate Malice to *T. E.* under pretence of Friendship to his Father, but to be sure Hatred to the Son; and as *T. E.* says, *If this be the effect of his friendship, he should not desire to be numbred among his Friends.* To set which in a clear Light, I shall have set down his Vindication in his own Words, because it bears some Analogy to his Relation of the former part of his Life; viz. pag. 20, of the *Fair Examination*. . . .

" 'Tis well known to many that my Father was possesser of a good Estate; and they that knew him well, knew also that he had the spending of it himself. How he spent it becomes not me to speak; He was my Father, to whom I ow'd and always paid Respect and Honour, while living; and whose Frailty being dead, I desire to cover. It is enough for me to say, I did not help him spend his Estate, nor was I much chargeable to him, after I was capable of shifting for my self. And when it pleased the Lord to visit me with the saving Knowledge of his Truth, and bring me under the visible Characters of the Profession thereof (which was about

the 20th Year of my Age) my Father expressing a dislike to me on that Account, by degrees withdrew his Care of me, not making any Provision for me." [Except the giving him such of his Household Goods, as he could spare on his giving up House-keeping, though he had then a good Estate left: and when afterwards he sold his Estate, T.E. had none of the Money, though upon his Marriage he promised both and his intended Wife to do something Considerable for them; yet after they were Married he refused to give him any thing (as aforesaid p. 224) and so far withdrew himself, that he would not let him know where he lodged.] "Notwithstanding (says T.E.) he would come to my House, which was always open and free to him, to come when he pleased, and to tarry as long as he pleased; whenever he came he was well Habited, both for Linnen and Woolen, and made no Appearance of Want, other than such as may befall any Man, to have his Money fall short in a Journey: upon which Occasion (when he had, as he said, been longer from home than he expected, or when, being there, he had a mind to go further, than at his coming forth he intended) he divers times asked me to lend him Money, which I always did, and never asked him for it again. And, to the best of my Remembrance, it was not above two Weeks time before his last Sickness, that he had been at my House, and had Money of me on that Account. As soon as I heard of his Illness, I hastened to him, and took the best Care of him I could, during his Life; and after his Death defray'd the Charges of his Sickness and Burial, and repaid to my Sister that Money which she had sent him, before I knew of his Illness. I could say more on this Subject than I intend, or at present think fit: But I forbear, and commit my Innocent Cause to the Lord, not doubting but that, as I am clear in His Sight from any Undutifulness or Unkindness towards my Father, so he will clear mine Innocency, in the Hearts of his People, and of all unprejudiced Persons."

This I hope will satisfie the Reader of T. E.'s Carriage towards his Father, which we are beholding to J. R. for, or else perhaps might never have had this Account, which

one would think Envy it self should not be able to cavil at : yet after this *J. R.* being restless, trump up another Story, answered by *T. E.* in his Postscript to that Book ; which we shall meet with again hereafter, on another Occasion ; and therefore I shall say no more of it here.

Here ends his Controversie with the *Separates* : In which I must needs say, he acquitted himself as an Ingenuous Man, a Christian, and a fair Opponent. And now to come to something more pleasant. Our dear Friend *G. Fox* dying in the *Eleventh Month*, 1690, and leaving behind him an excellent Journal of his Travels and Sufferings, our Friend *T. E.* (as no body fitter) about this time was at the Pains of Transcribing it, and fitting it for the Press. (A Laborious Work). Which was Printed next Year in a large Folio : To which *T. E.* prefixed a notable Account concerning him ; which is the only single Testimony Printed with it ; except his Wifes *M.F.*'s, and an Excellent Preface by *W. Penn.*

But now a new Scene opens : for *George Keith*, who had known better things than most Opposers that ever rose up against Truth and *Friends*, having been a *Quaker*, and a *Preacher* among them, near *Thirty Years*, and had writ many Books in *Vindication of Truth and Friends* : but now falling out, and differing with some of his brethren in *Pennsylvania* (whither he went some Years before) because he could not have his own way in everything, came over with some of his Party, full fraught with Contention, against the *Yearly-Meeting*, 1694. Which difference coming before the Meeting, by some letters from beyond Sea, which were read in Course in the Meeting : whereupon *G. K.* desired to be heard ; which, after the other Business of the Meeting was over, *Friends* condescended to for several Days, to hear him and his Party ; and *S. Jennings*, &c. on the other Side ; in hopes to have reconciled the Difference before it went any further : But as the Prophet (*Hos. 7. 1.*) said, *When I would have healed Israel, then the Iniquity of Ephraim was discover'd*, &c. which may be applied to him : for the more Endeavours were used to reconcile him to his Brethren, the more his Deceit appear'd ; and the more

Tenderness any shewed towards him, the more perverse he was in turning it to a wrong Use, and strengthening himself in his Opposition. There was no holding what would away (as the Proverb is) Resolved he was for a Breach : by opposing Friends more and more, till he ran himself quite out from among them. Which our Friend T. E. observing the bent and tendency of ; not only in the *Yearly-Meeting*, but after : and how he endeavoured to make Divisions among Friends, to divide the Heritage of God. He took up his Pen again, and writ an Excellent *Epistle to Friends : briefly Commemorating the gracious Dealings of the Lord with them ; and warning them to beware of that Spirit of Contention and Division, which hath appeared of late in George Keith, &c.*

When our friend T. Ellwood had written this Epistle he went up to *London* with it, and presented it to the *Second-Days Morning-Meeting*, where such Books and Writings of Friends, as are intended for the Press, use to be read and consider'd, and read it through in that Meeting, and not one Friend (though the Meeting was pretty full) shewed any Dis-unity therewith ; but approved it, and left it to him to publish it. And yet G. Keith pretended that it was Printed in great dis-unity, and against the mind of many Friends, as though it was only approved and promoted by a party, &c. Which I mention, to shew that he stuck at nothing to make good his Part.

Against this Book of T. E.'s, G. K. made a heavy Complaint to Friends to have it called in, as very injurious to him (to his Cause to be sure) Poor Man ! who had writ so many Books against Friends, after he had writ so many for them, and would not take Friends Advice himself ; and how then could he expect they should answer him ? So that his Complaint and Clamour not prevailing to stifle it, he takes another way, first putting out a Sheet against it, called a *Loving Epistle*, but envious enough : In which he charged T. E. with *Fifty Perversions*, &c. which he said he had noted in his book ; but left his Proofs behind to come after (*The first by Post*, as the Proverb is, the

second by *Tom Long the Carrier*) in another Book which he threatned to Publish, if T. E.'s was not called in and disowned : which not prevailing neither, some Weeks after he sent forth his threatned Book, miscalled *A Seasonable Information, &c.*, but very unseasonable for himself, as to his Reconciliation with Friends ; which he pretended he had rather lay down his natural Life (or have his Right Hand cut off) than be dis-united (or dis-jointed) from them. This Book he pretended to be an Answer to T.E.'s Epistle, and to contain his Proofs (such as they were) of the Charge he had published before. To both these our Friend T. Ellwood replied this Year (1694). In a Book intituled *A further Discovery of that Spirit of Contention and Division, which hath appeared of late in George Keith, &c., wherein his Cavils are answered, his Falshood is laid open, and the Guilt and Blame of the Breach and Separation in America, &c. are fixed faster on him ; written by way of Epistle (as the former was) and recommended as a farther Warning to Friends.* . . .

And so he proceeds to clear himself of the Perversions, &c. which G. K. charged him with, and answers all his Cavils against his Book ; manifesting his Deceit, Evasions and Sophistry so effectually, that I do not find that G. Keith ever replied to it, being answered home, and having his Belly full, I suppose of the Controversie with T. Ellwood ; for though our Friend Thomas answered several other of G. Keith's Books afterwards (of which hereafter) he never replied to any of them : which shews he had enough of it. . . .

His next Book is in 1695, intituled *Truth defended, and the Friends thereof cleared from the false Charges, foul Reproaches, and envious Cavils cast upon it and them, by George Keith (an Apostate from them) in two Books by him lately Published ; one called A true Copy of a Paper delivered into the Yearly-Meeting, &c. The other, The Pretended Yearly-Meeting's nameless Bull of Excommunication, &c.* In which last G. K. gives an Account of his Coming to the Yearly-Meeting (1695) and of his Entertainment in it (when admitted) as if

he had never been there before, viz. *That he was allowed to sit at the Great Square Table among the Ministers and Commissioners* (as he calls them) *that could hold about it, either fully, or nearly double, to the Number of Twenty four : whether by Allusion to the Twenty four seats and Elders, mentioned Rev. 4 ? but doubling the Number he doth not determine ; adding, I think it suits not their Crying out so much as they were wont against chief seats in the Synagogues, to erect such a stately Fabrick in their Meeting-House, at that time, little differing from the manner of a Throne, but that it is low upon the Floor, covered with Green Cloth.* All which only serves to shew his own Pageantry, and which our Friend T. Ellwood corrects him for according to his deserts. For the Table will hold few more than Twenty four, or Twenty eight at most, and only necessary to lay Books and Papers on to Write.

In the Beginning of this Book, our Friend T. E. resumes the Controversie from the Beginning, shews the Rise of the Difference, and Proceedings thereupon, in relation to *George Keith*, particularly after his coming into *England* in the beginning of 1694 ; and how he came to be disowned by the Yearly Meeting in 1695, for his rejecting the Advice of the former, and opposite Carriage thereunto ; which being so excellent to the matter in hand, and setting the Controversie in a clear light, I shall here insert it ; which begins thus :

"It is an old Observation, That none prove more angry and implacable Enemies to any Society of People, than those that, for their Disorders and unruly Behaviour, have been disowned by the Society they once were of ; a certain vindictive Enmity usually getting up in such, and stirring them up to load that Society, by which they were denied, with all the Reproach and Infamy they can, thereby both gratifying a revengeful Spirit in themselves, and thinking also, by recriminating others, to extenuate at least their own Crime. That thus it was in the early Times of Christianity, may be gathered from the Writings of the Apostles, particularly 2 *Tim.* 4. 14. 2 *Pet.* 2. 1 *John* 2. 18, &c. 3 *John* 9, &c. *Jude* verse 4. Among those in this Age, whom Satan hath drawn to this degree, of Malice

and Madness, *George Keith* a *Scotchman*, is the latest but not the least ; whether with respect to his Anger, or his Envy. He, having been bred a Scholar, before he came amongst the People called *Quakers*, and having acquired more of School-Learning than most (it may be, in his own Opinion, than any) of that People have, hath given, in himself, a demonstrative Proof of the Apostle's proposition (1 Cor. 8. 1.) *Knowledge puffeth up, where Edyfing Charity is not joined with it.* For *Humane Knowledge* is apt of it self to lift up Mens Minds, that have, or think they have it, in any degree of Eminency ; and makes them think better of themselves, than of others, or than themselves deserve : whereas true Charity useth Knowledge to instruct, and thereby builds up ; not to puzzle and confound, and thereby destroy others : but that Charity this Man not having but being vainly puffed up in his Fleshly Mind, from a proud Conceit of his own Abilities ; and being gotten into *America* (among a plain People, who better understood the plain and simple Truth, than the nice Distinctions and Subtilties of the Schools) and there advanced to the office of a School-Master, with a standing Sallary (as I have been informed) of an Hundred and Twenty Pounds by the Year, he soon began, like *Diotrephes* of old (3 John 9, 10.) to affect *Præ-eminence* in the Church ; and nothing less would serve his turn, than to rule and over-rule all. And that he might not want Matter to work upon, and some Pretence to begin on, he not only found fault with Friends Ministry and Discipline there ; but having, in private Discourses, put some captious and ensnaring Questions to some particular persons there, whose Simplicity he thought he might most easily betray, he (by wresting their Answers to a wrong Sense) took Advantage to complain against them, *for holding*, as he said, *gross and vile Errors* ; and with impetuous Heat prosecuted his Charge : and not being so fully nor speedily answered, as he expected, by those Friends to whom he complained, who seeing the Innocency of the Accused, and his evil Design in Accusing, could not Countenance him therein, he involved them also in the like Charge of *Cloaking or Covering gross and Vile Errors, Damnable Heresies*

and Doctrines of Devils, &c. Nor gave he over, till by continual Clamours and frequent Disturbances, he had filled Friends Meetings with Strife and Contention ; and at length having leavened a Party to himself, made an open Division and Separation from Friends, setting up separate Meetings for himself and his Party, in Opposition to the Meetings of Friends before settled there. And having got the Printer to his Party (and thereby the only Press there at his Command) he maliciously put the Difference into Print, and thereby spread it not only in those Parts of *America*, but in these of *Europe* also. These things drew Friends there, after much Patience and long Forbearance, to deal with him in a Church-way, and to give forth at length a Testimony against him ; which proving uneasy to him, he came over from thence to *England*, about the beginning of the Year 1694, of which some Friends of *Pennsylvania* having Notice. came over also ; and at the Yearly Meeting of the People called *Quakers* holden at *London* in the 4th Mon that Year, the Matters relating to that Difference being fully heard and considered, the Sence of that Meeting was, *That the Separation lay at G. K.'s door ; and that he had done ill, in Printing and Publishing those differences as he had done.* And the advice of the Meeting to him thereupon was, *To call in those Books of his, or publish something innocently and effectually to clear the Body of the People called Quakers, and their Ministers, from those gross Errors charged on some few in America ; and retract the bitter Language in them, so far as he was concerned : and sincerely to use his utmost Endeavours with his Friends concerned to remove the Separation, &c.* Which Sence and Advice, being drawn up at large in Writing, was then in that Meeting delivered to him, and soon after Printed by one of his Party, with very envious Reflections upon it, as may be seen in a small Pamphlet, called *A True Account, &c.* to which I refer. But so far was *G. K.* from regarding the Sence, or following the Advice of that Yearly Meeting, that in several printed Books by him soon after published, he rejected it, denying it to be the Sence or Advice of the Yearly Meeting, or that to be the Yearly Meeting that gave it.

Which Abuse this last Yearly Meeting (in the 3d Month past) taking notice of, and upon further dealing with him, finding him, instead of being humbled and sorry for the Evil he had done, more hardened therein, justifying himself both by Word and Writing, and rejecting the Meetings Advice. That Meeting (after it had heard him patiently, till he of his own accord withdrew) gave forth a Testimony against him : which he hath since Printed, with his Answer thereunto. As he hath also (in another Pamphlet) a copy of his Paper which he read in the Meeting ; together with a Narrative (of his own making) of the Proceedings of the Meeting, with him, and a List of Errors charged by him on some particular Persons. To each of of these I intend to speak, now that I have premised his short Introduction ; which I have thought needful for the Information of any such Reader as had not before heard the Rise of the Difference, nor the Course of Proceedings thereupon."

This I thought fit to insert, being so material as to the Ground of the Controversie with *G. Keith* : after which *T. E.* proceeds to answer all his Cavils in his said two books or Papers. And shews that by his disorderly Practice he had excluded himself from the Society, before Friends disowned him. So leaving him without Excuse, and the weight of his Iniquity upon his own Head ; which he could never get from under, but waxed worse and worse, as evil Men and Seducers used to do ; so that Truth was set over his Head, and Freinds were clear of him.

But now another Occasion offer'd, and that was, one *Gerard Croese* a *Dutchman*, publishing *A general History* (so called) of the Quakers ; containing the *Lives, Tenets, Sufferings, Tryals, Speeches and Letters* (as pretended) of the most eminent of them ; First in *Latin* : which was Translated, and Printed in *English* in the Year 1696. Wherein, though he had represented some things pretty fairly ; yet in others, through Inadvertancy or Ignorance (I hope not wilfully) he had misrepresented us, and our Principles and Practices : whereupon our Friend *T. Ellwood*, according to an Advertisement at the end of the said *History* in

English, that *some Remarks on it would be published*, he writ some Remarks on it in *Latin* (perhaps before the *English* came out, which would no doubt have been turn'd into *English*) intending, doubtless, to publish 'em; but in the mean time before they were finished, a Book of the same Nature, and to the same purpose, in *Latin*, was published in *Holland* (by way of Remarks or Observations on the said *History*) which seemed again to circumvent him in his intended Remarks on it, so that he laid 'em by, and never finished them; and so the World was deprived of this Piece also.

But now *G. Keith* being gone out from the Fellowship of the Faithful, and hardened in his Enmity against Friends, he arrived to the Top or Height of Opposition, he had been playing small Stakes hitherto; but now came to throw all at once. In order to which he Erected a Stage of Contention at *Turners-Hall* in *Philpot-Lane*, *London* (where he had held Separate Meetings for some time before) to oppose Friends in general, under pretence of discovering divers Errors out of the *Quakers* Books (that were never in them) and published an Advertisement of a Meeting he intended to hold there, in the *4th Month*, 1696, to discover the *Quakers* Errors (though he had been one so long himself, and vindicated them, as to all that any could Object against, and yet now came to accuse them himself;) but Friends slighted him, not thinking it worth their while to follow him, or Dance after his Pipe to *Turners-Hall*. Of which contentious Meeting he afterwards published a Narrative; which our Friend *T. E.* answered, this Year, in a Book intituled *An Answer to George Keith's Narrative of his Proceedings at Turners-Hall, &c. wherein his charges against divers of the People called Quakers (in that and another Book of his, called Gross Errors, &c.) are fairly considered, examined and refuted.* And he made his Title good in a close Answer, and entire Confutation of all his Cavils against our Friends Books.

. . . .

Some Angry Priests in *Norfolk*, on our Friends having a Meeting near one of them, and Truth spreading to their regret, they challenged a Dispute with some

of our Friends at *West-Deerham* in that County, the 8th of the Tenth Month, 1698, where some of our Friends appearing, and answering them, so disappointed the Priests in their envious Designs in the said Dispute, that they afterwards promoted two Petitions against our Friends to the Parliament (one from *Norfolk*, the other from *Suffolk*) to stir up Persecution against them, that what they could not do by Arguments, they might by Force. To which two Petitions our Friend *T. Ellwood* (having obtained Copies of them) writ *A sober Reply on behalf of the People called Quakers, to two Petitions against them (the one out of Norfolk, and the other from Bury in Suffolk) being from Brief Observations upon them, &c.* Printed 1699, manifesting their mischievous Machinations against the Truth and Friends which, with some other Discouragements, through the Labour and Industry of Friends at *London*, in attending the Parliament, and delivering Printed Papers; particularly, *A few Considerations to the Members of Parliament, to obviate some Evil Jealousies and Designs against the People called Quakers*, so quashed their malicious Purposes, that their Petitions were never delivered to, or receiv'd by the Parliament; but fell, and came to nothing, and their Evil Designs were frustrated, Friends were preserved, and Truth prospered over their Heads.

About this time also, our Friend *William Penn* being gone to *Pennsylvania* (in the 7th Month this Year) and *G. Keith* continuing his Opposition against Truth and Friends; sometimes more general at *Turners-Hall*, where, as the course of his *Delirious Distemper* returned (as *Joseph Wyeth* observes, in his Answer to his Advertisement this Year) he held his Contentious Meetings, once a Year, to pick Passages out of our Friends Books to Cavil at (though he could not Answer nor Clear himself of *T. Ellwood's*, or others that were writ against him). And sometimes, more particularly against single Persons, especially *William Penn*, against whom he chose to vent his Malice above most others; especially now in his Absence, making him the Butt of his Indignation; and published two Books against him, one called *The Deism of William*

306 Joseph Wyeth's Supplement. [1700

Penn and his Brethren, &c. This our Friend T. Ellwood undertook to Answer, and made a considerable Progress in it, in a large Book, of between Thirty and Forty Sheets. . . .

But before he had finished this Answer (tho' he had gone about two thirds through it) 'Benjamin Coole of Bristol, Published a Book there, Intituled, *Honesty the truest Policy, shewing the Sophistry, Envy and Perversion of George Keith, in his Three Books, (viz.) His Bristol Quakerism. Bristol Narrative, And his Deism.* On the perusal of which, viz, His Answer to G. Keith's Deism, &c. T. E. writ the following Verses,

*Indeed, is then the Work by me begun,
And which I labour'd at with such good Will,
Already, by a readier Work-man, done :
Who Nimbleness hath added to his Skill !
Well may it thrive, Successful may it prove,
Truth's way to Clear, and Stumbling-Blocks Remove !
I never was Ambitious to appear
In Print; nor to myself Applause have sought ;
With satisfaction therefore, I can bear
What thou design'st; another hand hath wrought :
This superceeds my Work. I'm glad to see
Such help come in, that there's no need for me.
This is the Third Time, I have thus been put
Besides my Work, which makes me think (my Friend)
The Controversial Door to me is shut ;
And of my scribbling Service there's an End.
If so, Content, I can with pleasure see
The Work well done ; although not done by me.
17th. 11th. Month, 1700.*

The three Times he was put besides his Work, of which (he says) this was the Third : The other Two (I suppose) were, his *Remarks on Gerrard Croese's History of the Quakers.* And his Answer to *The Snake in the Grass*, his Book called *Satan Disrob'd* Both before mentioned.

However, this of B. C.'s Anticipating his Answer to the *Deism*, he laid it by and never finished it ;

thinking perhaps, the other (tho' far short of his) might suffice at present for an Answer thereto ; and so we were deprived of his labour in this respect also : Which yet I hope, one time or other, may be Published for the Service of Truth ; which its pity the World should be deprived of.

His next Service, upon a general Foot, which I find any Footsteps of, was on this Occasion. One *John Shockling* a Priest, of *Ash*, near *Sandwich*, in *Kent*, having got some of the *Snake's* Books, set up for an Opposer, or Disputant, about *Water-Baptism*, and sends a paper to *John Love*, Called, *A Question upon those Words in Mathew 28. 19. Go ye therefore and Teach all Nations, Baptising them in the Name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost. Whether the Apostles were not commanded by them to baptize with Water ?* This Paper and Question our Friend *T. E.* answered in the 4th Month, 1701, very much to the purpose. To which the *Priest* being unwilling to take an Answer, and let it drop so, replying (I might say, to little purpose). *T. E.* writ a Rejoinder, in the 4th Month, 1702. Both which, Answer and Rejoinder, being very pertinent to the purpose, and notable on that Subject, I should insert some part of it, but that it was only private, and never published (that I know of) And therefore I would not begin to be the first publisher thereof.

But now we come to his great Work, of the *Histroy of the Old Testament* : which, at his Leisure, he had in Hand for some Years ; and both he and we had this Advantage of his being put by his Work in answering Adversaries ; particularly that of the *Snake*, and *G. K's*. *Deism* (having now seem'd to have done with Controversie) that he had the more Time and Leisure to prosecute this more excellent Work ; which having finished in 1704, he brought it up to *London*, to shew it to Friends, for their Perusal and Approbation. Which being done, it was published in Folio, the next Year, 1705, under the Title of *Sacred History ; or the Historical Part of the Holy Scriptures of the Old Testament. Gathered out from the other Parts thereof, and digested (as near as well could be) into due Method, with*

308 Joseph Wyeth's Supplement. [1703-6

respect to order of Time and Place : with some Observations here and there, tending to illustrate some Passages therein. . . .

About this time we entred into a more particular Correspondence by Letters on several Occasions ; which we continued, at times, almost 'till his Death. So that I usually imparted to him the most remarkable Occurrences that passed here ; and often advised with him in the most important Affairs, as I had Occasion : and he, in Requital, was always ready to Answer me, in a very obliging manner, in any thing I desired. And I must acknowledge, he was very helpful to me, by his Advice, in some Controversies I had with some late Adversaries ; which I shall not now name, some of them being gone to their Graves ; and his friendly Correspondence was always very acceptable, and instructive as well as grateful to me, in his agreeable Letters : of which I have many by me. Some of which he hath inserted in his *Decades*.

The next Year, viz. 1706, there followed an Inter-course of some Letters between him and *William Sewell of Holland*,* upon some particular Points ; which led into a Friendly Correspondence between them, in some other Matters not unpleasant to read. Several of which Letters of *T. E.*'s are in his *Decades* ; with many others, to divers Persons, Friends and others, on various Subjects : Which, if ever it should be thought meet to publish them, or any of them, they would, I doubt not, be very instructive, as well as diverting.

His next Publick Work was on this Occasion. About this time a Book was published by a Nameless Author, called *A Divine Treatise, written by way of Essay, (pretending) to demonstrate, according to the Mosaical Philosophy, Water-Baptism, Imposition of Hands, and the Commemoration of the Death and Passion of our ever Blessed Lord and Saviour under the species of Bread and Wine, &c.* This Treatise coming accidentally or providentially to our Friend *Thomas Ellwood's* Hands (as he says in his Preface) he observed that the

* The well known historian of the Quakers.



INTERIOR OF JORDAN'S MEETING HOUSE.

Design of the Author therein was, To re-introduce and set up again those *Typical Representations* therein treated of, among those who have been led by the Lord out of the use thereof, into a more spiritual Dispensation. And finding his Understanding in some measure Opened, to see the Danger and Mischief of that Undertaking, and his Spirit withal stirred in him against it, he felt a Concern upon his Mind to publish his *Observations* which he had made thereon, that others might the more clearly see and readily escape the Snare therein laid to entangle them, and draw them into Bondage to outward Ceremonies, and elementary Shadows again. This he did in a Book Printed 1707, intituled, *The Glorious Brightness of the Gospel-Day, dispelling the Shadows of the Legal Dispensation, and whatsoever else of Humane Invention hath been super-added thereunto.* . . .

And now I must say something of him under another Consideration as well as Writing. He had writ several Books against Tythes (as before hinted) to shew the Unsuitableness of them to the Gospel Dispensation (being *Jewish* in their Original, and *Popish* in their Revival) and that the Obligation of paying them was ceased under the Gospel, as to any *Divine Right* from Scripture. And now it fell to his Lot to suffer also in his turn for his Testimony against the payment of them (*For to him it was given, in the behalf of Christ, not only to believe in him* (and bear witness to his coming in the Flesh, and offering up himself, to put an End to the Law and Priesthood, Tythes and Offerings) *but also to suffer for his sake*) being prosecuted (with three Friends more, viz. *John Penington, Abraham Butterfield and William Catch*)* in the *Exchequer*, for Tythes, at the Suit of *Joshua Leaper*, Tythe-Farmer of *Amersham* in the County of *Bucks* under *Humphry Drake*, Clerk, Rector, and Parson (so called) of the Rectory and Parish-Church of *Agmondesham*, alias, *Amersham*, aforesaid. *Thomas Ellwood* with the rest) were *Subpœna'd* to appear at *Westminster* in *Trinity-Term*, 1707, which they did by an Attourney to prevent

* See *Jordans and the Chalfonts*, pp. 217 *et seq.*

being in Contempt of the Court, and took a Copy of the Complainants Bill. But for not Answering, Attachments were issued out in *Michaelmas Term*, to take them up: on which they were taken into Custody in the Eleventh Month, and afterwards an *Habeas Corpus* sent down to the Sheriff of *Bucks*, to bring them up to the *Exchequer-Bar* in *Trinity Term*, 1708, on which they came up. And so to prevent the Plaintiffs going on to a Sequestration by default, they put in their Answers; setting forth the Value of the Tythes, according to the best of their Knowledge. Yet so vexatious was the Adversary, that he would not be satisfied with their Answer, but got a Commission of Enquiry to Examine Witnesses in the Country, as to the Value of the Tythes; which they did at *Amersham*, in the Tenth Month. The first Witness they examined was one E——, G——, of the Parish of *Chesham*, Aged (as they say) Fourty four Years, or thereabouts, who deposed, *That he knew the Complainant and Defendants; and had known the Complainant about Sixty Years* (which was about Sixteen Years before he was born) Whereby we may Judge of the rest of his Evidence: The Charge of which Commission, and executing it, came to between Thirty and Fourty Pounds, though some of it was abated on taxing the Cost; and yet they proved little, if anything more than the Defendants had set down in their Answers; yet went on to a hearing on it, and obtain'd a Decree for the Tythes and Cost. For not performing which, Attachments were issued out a-fresh against them, in *Trinity-Term*, 1709, to the Sheriff of *Hartfordshire* (T. E. A. B. and W. C. living in that County)* but J. P. living in *Bucks*, was drop't, because the Attachments to the Sheriff of *Hartfordshire* would not reach him) and then a Proclamation; but the Sheriff living remote, did not endeavour to take them; and the Prosecutor seemed rather to aim at a *Sequestration* on their Goods and Estates, than their Bodies: so that seeing them resolved to go on, the Defendants to prevent it, offer'd to surrender themselves to the Sheriff; but he return'd

* The neighbourhood of Coleshill formed an isolated part of Hertfordshire, surrounded by Buckinghamshire.

them each, *Non est Inventus*, and they got a Commission of Rebellion antedated, and moved for a Serjeant at Arms, the same Day, to run them to a Sequestration in all haste (*Leaper* being Sick and bad, like to die), least he should not live till it was accomplish'd: but being so *illegal*, at least in point of time, for that there ought to be Eight Days, between the *Test* and *Return of the Writ* in 30 Miles off *London*, and 14 beyond, on our appearing against it, they could not obtain it till *Hillary Term*. In which time *Leaper* recovered; and one might have hoped that he might have repented; but instead thereof then got a *Sequestration* against them and their Estates, both Real and Personal, for Tythes of *Thomas Ellwood*; which was but - - 00 12 0
 And *Abraham Butterfield's* - - - 15 15 6
 And *William Catch's* - - - 16 07 4
 And Cost as tax'd by the Deputy - - 71 17 8

In all for Tythes and Cost - - - 104 12 6

For which they seized and took from *T. E.* in Household-Goods, Bedding, Pewter, &c. (throwing out the Meat to take the Dishes) to the Value of 19 *l.* And a Horse he used to ride on, which he would not have took Five *Gueneas* for. In all about - - - 24 10 0
 Which they sold (working and hobling about the Horse, till they had almost spoil'd him) all for about - - - 14 15 0
 And from *Abraham Butterfield*, Cattle, Corn, Hay, &c. to the value of - - - 86 17 0
 which they Sold by their own Account for so much.

And from *William Catch* they took, by their Account, *Grass*, &c. - - - 8 14 8
 And a Years Rent of his House, (deducting for Taxes, 11 shillings.) - - - 2 09 0
 Being about 3*l.* per Annum, which they seized, and kept till paid; which for Four Years, since the time called *Michaelmas* 1709, when they gave in their Account, came to - - - 9 16 0

In all from *W. C.* about - - - 20 19 8

312 Joseph Wyeth's Supplement. [1710

Seized & taken in the <i>whole</i> about	-	-	132	06	8
For Tythes and Cost	-	-	104	12	6
More than demanded	-	-	027	14	2

And yet, what by Charge of *Sequestration* making out, and selling the Corn; Selling underhand, &c. they brought in the Defendants in Debt, and wanted more.

I have been the larger in this Account, to shew the Proceedings of the *Exchequer*, and the Fruit of Tythes, to ruin the Q U E E N's Subjects for small Matters, when they might recover by *Justices-Warrants* to the value of 10*l.* with the hundredth part of the Charge.

Now we come to the second Volume of his Great Work, the *History of the New Testament*, which he had had in Hand at times, for the most Part since he finished his former; and when he had finished this, he brought it up to *London* for *Friends*, Perusal and Approbation: where it was Read, and afterwards published this Year 1709, in Folio, under the same Title with the former, only as that was of the Old Testament, this was of the New, viz. *Sacred History, or the Historical Part of the Holy Scriptures of the New Testament*, &c. (as in the Title of the former) which as I gave some Account of, so it behoves I should of this. The former Treatise (says he in his Preface) having found a favourable Reception, he was thence encouraged to resume his pen (which at the close of that Volume he had let fall) and proceed to the Methodizing of the Historical Part of the New Testament, in Two Parts. . . .

This Year (1710) our Friend *Oliver Sansom*, formerly of *Faringdon*, since of *Abington* in *Berkshire* (who had long War with the Priests about Tythes) dying in the 2d Month, and leaving him behind *An Account of some Remarkable Passages of his Life*, which he Communicated (in his Life time) to our Friend *T. Ellwood* to peruse, who being always ready to be helpful and serviceable to all, especially his Friends, he Transcribed the same, and fitted it for the Press; which was Printed

this Year ; to which *T. E.* prefixed a Testimony concerning him, pertinent to the Occasion.

There is one Book more of his, which he published in his Life-time ; which, it seems, he had had by him, for the most part a long time, and after he had finished his *Sacred History of the New Testament*, he took in hand to finish, and compleated. And that is the *Life of DAVID in Verse* ; first begun (for his own Diversion, not then thinking of the Press) and carried on, by degrees, to the end of the Third Book, in the Year 1688 (as hinted before in that Year) when the *Prince of Orange* Landing, and the Nation being in Arms ; the Noise of *Guns*, and Sounds of *Drums* and *Trumpets* so affrighted and disturbed his peaceful Muse (as he says in his Preface) that both she for a while, forsook him, and he thereupon the Work (for above Twenty Years :) save that on a Review, observing how abruptly *David* was brought in, he added the first Chapter (of the first Book) to introduce his Hero from the Beginning of his Story. Where it rested again, without any Prospect of its ever going further, until the last Winter (1711). When having (as he says) less Health and more Leisure, than at sometimes before, he took it up for an Entertainment, to make some uneasy Hours pass somewhat less uneasily over. And after he had read it through, considering that if, after his Death, it should be found among his Papers and committed to the Press, it would be but an imperfect Piece ; he found an Inclination to carry on the Story to the End of *David's* Life (I wish he had done so by his own). And giving a kind Invitation to his gentle Muse to return (which by some short Visits on particular Occasions, in the Interval, had given him some Ground to hope, she had not quite forsook him) he entred again upon the Subject, where he had left off ; and by degrees went through it, till he had brought his *warlike Hero* to his *peaceful Grave*.

After it was finished, deliberating, whether to publish it himself, or leave it, as a *Posthume*, to be published by some kind Hand after his Death, for some Reasons ; particularly, That if any should *Carp* at it, he might be capable to answer for himself, he thought best to

publish it in his Life-time ; and accordingly brought it up with him, when he came to the *Yearly-Meeting* (1712), but not having then an Opportunity to have it Read, he came up again with it some time after (which I think was the last time he was at *London*) and after Reading, committed it to the Press this Year, under the Title of *DAVIDEIS. The Life of David King of Israel. A Sacred Poem : in five Books*, in Octavo. Tho', as he observes, *Abraham Cowley* writ a Poem called *Daवेis*, he had not read it till after he had finished his ; and besides, their different way of Writing, *A. C's.* was but of the Troubles of *David* in his Youth, and that not half finished. And that he had the same Aim in this, as in that of his *Sacred History* aforesaid. Which Book begins thus.

*I Sing the Life of David, Israel's King,
Assist, thou sacred Pow'r who did'st him bring
From the Sheepfold, and set him on the Throne;
Thee I invoke, on thee rely alone.
Breath on my Muse ; and fill her slender Quill
With thy Refreshing Dews from Hermon-Hill :
That what she Sings may turn unto thy Praise,
And to thy Name may lasting Trophies Raise.*

But I would not Anticipate the Reader, but leave him to Read and Judge for himself, as it deserves.

I shall Conclude his Works and Writings, with a Copy of Verses he formerly Writ ; which, though out of Course as to Time, is so well worth the Inserting, that I hope they will make amends for being mis-placed; viz.

*O, that mine Eye might closed be,
To what becomes me not to see !
That Deafness might possess mine Ear,
To what concerns me not to hear !
That Truth my Tongue might always ty,
From ever speaking Foolishly !
That no vain Thought might ever rest,
Or be conceived in my Breast !
That, by each Word, each Deed, each Thought,*

*Glory may to my God be brought !
 But what are Wishes ! Lord, mine Eye
 On thee is fixt ; to thee I Cry :
 O purge out all my Dross, my Tin :
 Make me more white than Snow, within !
 Wash, Lord, and purifie my Heart,
 And make it clean in every part :
 And when 'tis clean, Lord keep it too :
 For that is more than I can do.*

Thus having gone through his Printed Books and Papers which I have endeavoured to give a plain and succinct Account of, and of him out of them, as far as I could, and with as much Brevity as well might be : I shall now speak somewhat of him in his Private Capacity, and other Services and Station in the Church, with his Death and Character ; and so Conclude the Whole :

He lived many Years (if not most of his Time, especially after he was Married) at *Hunger-Hill*, in the Parish of *Agmondesham*, alias, *Amersham*, in *Buckinghamshire* (though his House stood in *Hartfordshire*, as aforesaid) where the Monthly Meetings of Men and Women were constantly kept, for that part of the County of *Bucks* : Wherein he was very Serviceable, in Writing, Advising, and Exhorting to keep all things Well, and in good Order, according to Truth, and the Testimony thereof ; and had a Peculiar Gift for Government in the Church, and ordering things in Monthly and Quarterly Meetings, and used to come up constantly to the Yearly-Meeting at *London*, and was very Serviceable therein ; not only by his Grave Counsel and Advice ; but also, in Reading and Writing on occasion, especially in difficult Matters. He had a singular Talent in Indicting and Composing of things, Epistles and Papers beyond many ; so that I must needs say, he was an Ornament to the Meeting, and will be much missed therein, and many other ways. His Wife Died about Five Years before him, being a Solid Weighty Woman, who had a Public Testimony for the Lord and his Truth, in Meetings ; and therefore the greater Loss to him and Friends : And for himself, he lived a

316 Joseph Wyeth's Supplement. [1713

Private Retired Life, not concerning himself with much Business in the World; but gave himself much to Reading and Writing, and living in good Repute among Friends, and all sorts of People, as far as ever I heard of, to a pretty good Age; but bore his Age very well, being of a Regular Life, and Healthy Constitution; only in his latter Years was somewhat troubled at times with an *Asthma*: And at last he was taken ill of a *Palsie*, the 23rd Day of the 2d Month, 1713, which he bore with great Patience and Resignation; an Account of which, and his Dying Words, I leave to them who were with him in the time of his Sickness, the 8th day of which, he departed this Life, the 1st of the 3d Month, in the 74th Year of his Age: *Having served his Generation according to the Will of God, he fell a Sleep*: and was Honourably Buried the 2d Day following, being the 4th of the 3d Month, at *Jordans*, Being accompanied from his own House by a great many Friends and others, to the Meeting-House there (the Meeting he belong'd to) and Interr'd in the Burying-Ground belonging thereto, where was a very large Meeting, and great Appearance of Friends and others, several Publick Friends being there from *London*, and other Parts; and divers Living Testimonies born to the Truth he Lived and Died in, in a Living Remembrance of him, and his Services in the Church. A Man of a Comely Aspect, of a Free and Generous Disposition, of a Courteous and Affable Temper, and Pleasant Conversation; a Gentleman Born and Bred, a Scholar, a True Christian, an Eminent Author, a Good Neighbour, and Kind Friend; whose Loss is much Lamented, and will be much missed at Home and Abroad. The Lord (if it be his Will) Raise up many more such Pillars, Elders and Overseers of his *Flock* and *Family* (as Watchmen upon Sion's Walls) for his Honour, and the benefit of his Church and People, saith my Soul, *Amen*.

J. W.

London the 30th of the
9th Month, 1713.



BURIAL GROUND AT JORDANS.

Thomas Ellwood and his wife occupy the two graves in the third row back. The graves of William Penn and his family, Isaac and Mary Penington and Joseph Rule are shown in front.

P O S T S C R I P T.

SINCE the Writing of the foregoing *Supplement*, I have Understood, that our Friend *Thomas Ellwood*, after he had finished and Published his *Davideis*; signified, *That he had but one thing more that lay on his Mind, and that was, to add something to his Journal, or Account of his Life; which was chiefly to give an Account of his Books and Writings*: Which, as it shews he had not done it, or finished it before, and 'tis to be doubted he did not after (not Living long after that) and so no more to be expected (more's the Pity) from his own Hand. So it shews what his design was, as to what he intended to have added to it; had he Lived to perform it, or had not Death prevented him. So that the foresaid *Supplement* seems (in some sort at least) to Answer his own Intention (though far short, as was said, of what his own Hand could have done) yet so far as it does any way answer his Mind, I am therein Glad that I have done any service to his Memory, or the Truth in that respect; having endeavoured to represent things according to his own Mind, and to speak of him and things as probably he would have done if he had been Living, and hope the Reader will accept it the better. To whom therefore I recommend it; as giving at least, a fair Character of the Books he Writ, and Controversies he Managed, both Published and Unpublished; which I hope will be no Disservice (but Service) to the *Truth*, as it is intended in the Fear of God: To whose Honour, and the Service of his *Truth*, I desire with great Sincerity to Dedicate the remainder of my Days, and Rest,

A Friend to all Men.

J. W.

APPENDIX.

TESTIMONIES

CONCERNING THOMAS ELLWOOD.

GEORGE BOWLES, HIS TESTIMONY.

Dear Friends,

IT is in my Heart briefly, on this Occasion to commemorate the tender Dealings of the Lord with his People in this latter Age of the World, when it hath pleased him, in Love to poor lost Man, graciously to appear, by the breaking forth of his Glorious Gospel Day. And by the secret divine Reaches of the Hand of God, which hath been felt and seen in the Light of it, many have been drawn in their Spirits to seek after the Lord, and to enquire after the Knowledge of the Way of Life and Salvation; and blessed be his Holy Name, who was graciously pleased, by the Inshinings of this Divine Light in the Hearts of many, to expel the Darkness and rend the Vail. And then was the Arm of his mighty Power made bare, for the gathering many Thousands to the saving Knowledge of Himself. And in that Day was the Lord pleased according to his Promise, to pour forth of his Spirit upon Sons and upon Daughters; yea, upon Servants and upon Handmaids, and many were made to prophesie; and being qualified by the Holy Spirit, which they received, and were baptized by it into his Name, became willing, and were freely given up in Obedience to the Lord, and in Bowels of tender Love to the Souls of Mankind,

in his Power, to preach the Gospel of Life and Salvation to those to whom they were sent, and many were turned from Darkness to Light, and from the Power of Satan unto God, by their Ministry : Amongst whom our dear deceased Friend and Brother, THOMAS ELLWOOD, was one whose Conscience was reached and awakened by the Powerful Ministry of dear Edward Burrough, as I have heard him relate. And of that Day and Time, and the worthy Instrument by whose Ministry he was Convinced, and turned unto God, and made sensible of the Divine Principle of Life and Light in his own Heart, have I heard him speak with great Regard ; and also of the Sufferings which did attend him after he received the Truth in his Father's Family, for the Truth's sake : and how the Lord preserved him in that time, under the various Exercises, which he passed through for Truth's Testimony ; which for Christ's sake he was Conscientiously Concerned to stand in, according to that Plainness and Simplicity which Truth then led, and still continues to lead the sincere Disciples of Christ into by which they were distinguished from the World ; and, for the sake thereof they were despised of Men, and hated of the World. Such was the Plain Language of Thou to one, and refusing the Hat-Honour ; For which, Dear T. E. suffered not a little in that Day. And it were well if all, who come up in a Profession of the Blessed Truth in this Time, were Faithful in these, and in the other Branches of its Testimony. And let all consider, that the neglecting thereof, is, in a Degree, a making void the Sufferings of the Faithful (and strengthening the Hands of Evil Doers) who for the sake of their Testimony, loved not their Lives to the Death ; but underwent cruel Mockings, Buffetings, Stonings, Whippings, Stockings, Revilings, Imprisonments, and Spoiling of Goods ; Rejoycing in the Lord, that they were counted worthy to Suffer, either less or more, for his Name sake. In respect of which, this my dear Friend was a good Example, he being a Man of a steady Mind, and very patient in Suffering, as well as Faithful in his Testimony for Truth, and took joyfully the Spoiling of his Goods, wherein he was tryed but a

few Years before his Death. He was often Concerned in Defence of Truth's Testimony, both against our Professed Adversaries, and also against the Libertine Spirit, which appeared in some, Professing the same Truth with us, who Opposed themselves against that good Order and Discipline which the Truth led Friends into. All which will abundantly appear from the Books themselves, which are in Print, which he writ upon Various Occasions, and upon Divers Subjects; and let not his great Labour and Industry be Forgotten, in his writing those Two Historical Volumes, relating to the Old and New Testament: A Work truly Great, and is, and may be of great Use and Service. By all which his many Labours, it may be perceived by the wary and enlightened Reader, that the Lord had Endowed him with an excellent Gift, and Qualified him for the Service of Truth, his Church and People; in which he employed the Talent which the bountiful Lord had given him, to the Honour of the great Giver, and to the Comfort and Edification of the Church of Christ: But more especially were his Services known to the Brethren in this County of Bucks; Most of which are fallen asleep, and but few remaining here, who knew him in his beginning, or his first Services for the Lord, his Church and People; amongst whom he was a Zealous Asserter of that excellent Discipline the Lord had opened in, and led his People to, for the preserving his Church as a Garden enclosed; for which cause how did many of those Libertines set themselves fiercely against him, and shot their Arrows at him; but the Lord Defended him, and covered his Head in the Day of Battle, and his Bow abode in Strength, and his Bough spread over the Wall, and continued fresh and green: But a Blast from the Lord came upon their Evil Work; and how have they melted away? And how is their Strength failed, and their Work brought to Naught? But the Blessing of the Lord is with his People, even with the Faithful, to this Day, whom he hath preserved as a peculiar Treasure to himself: Blessed be his Holy Name for evermore. And furthermore, it may be truly said of this our dear Friend, that as the Lord fitted him for his Service, so was he eminently

serviceable in his Hand, in the Church of Christ ; particularly in these Parts, of which there are many Living Witnesses, in this and the adjacent Counties, of his great Labour of Love, having served the Church Freely, with great Diligence and Faithfulness : The true sense of which toucheth me and others with the deeper sense of the great Loss the Church hath by his Removal ; but being also sensible through the Lord's Goodness, that our Loss is his Eternal Gain, I feel in my Heart an humble Submission to the Will of him, who doth whatsoever pleaseth him, both in Heaven and in Earth ; and who shall say unto him, What doest thou ? And it is the tender breathing of my Spirit to the God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, that he would be graciously pleased, in Pity and Compassion to his poor People, to raise up, fit and furnish more faithful Servants for his Work and Service, and make them Zealous for his Name and Truth upon the Earth, that the place of this my Dear Friend, and other Faithful Servants of the Lord and his People, of late removed from amongst us in these Parts, may be supplied ; and that the Spouse of Christ may, amidst all her Tribulations, Afflictions and sore Exercises, be made to Praise the Lord, and Bless his Holy Name, who taketh away one, and raiseth up another, and Blesseth his Children with his Goodness ; according to his Promise made of Old, by the Holy Prophet, (Isa. 44. ver. 3.) saying, I will pour my Spirit upon thy Seed, and my Blessing upon thine Off-spring. And thus hath the Lord preserved Zion from Age to Age : And I doubt not, but am fully perswaded, that he will still Bless his People, and Preserve Zion, and Deliver her from all her Enemies.

And my Dear Friends, Brethren, and Sisters, although it be matter of Sorrow to us, to part with our Dear Friends ; especially such as have been made Serviceable in their Day, and have faithfully served the Lord and his People in their Generation, as it may (I hope without just occasion of Offence to any) be said of dear T. E. that he was a Man who served the Lord in Faithfulness, and his People with Chearfulness, and his Neighbours with Uprightness and Integrity : And therefore both they and we have the greater Loss ;

Yet may we not sorrow unseasonably, as those which sorrow without Hope, but believing that the Lord hath taken him to himself in Mercy (though it may be in Judgment, to some who were unworthy) let us all learn Resignation to his blessed Will, and say with Holy Job, the Lord giveth and the Lord taketh away : Blessed be the Name of the Lord. And dear Friends, I may further signifie unto you, that it being my Lot to be with this our dear Friend (of whom I am speaking) almost every day of his last Illness, I did observe in him, to my great Comfort and Satisfaction, a quiet composed Frame of Mind and Spirit, and Resignation to the Will of God. When I came first to him, which was soon after I heard of his being taken ill, which was the 24th day of the 2d Month, I found him very much disabled by the Distemper, which was thought to be a Palsie, that had seized him, especially on his right Side, so that he could not stand alone, nor help himself, but a little with his left Hand ; and his Speech was also very much interrupted, insomuch that it was with great difficulty, for the most part, that he expressed himself so as to be Understood : Sometime after I came to him, there being also other Friends with him, we sate down together under a weighty Exercise of Spirit, waiting upon the Lord in deep Silence, with our Eye to him, it pleased the Lord eminently to appear amongst us, and to fill our Hearts with the refreshing Streams of his Divine Love, and to open the Mouth of one of us in Prayer and Supplication ; and the Lord was graciously Pleased abundantly to replenish our Spirits, to our mutual Comfort, in a Living Sense of Divine Goodness ; and this our dear Friend, expressed himself in great Tenderness and Brokenness of Spirit, on this wise, I am sensibly Comforted and Refreshed in this Visit. And that Afternoon, he, fixing his Eyes upon me, with great Earnestness of Spirit, expressed, as well as he could at that time, a great Concern that was upon his Mind for Truth, and the Friends of it, in divers Particulars ; especially, in Relation to our own Monthly and Quarterly-Meetings, the Writings of both which had been under his Care for more than Forty Years : After which, he was much eased in his

Spirit, and so continued to the last, so far as I perceived ; often saying, when asked how he did, I am easie, I am quiet. And he was often very tender in his Spirit, expressing his Resignation to the Will of God, whether in Life or Death, saying, If the Lord hath no more Work for me to do, I am content and resigned to his Will ; and my hearty Farewel to all my Brethren. And at another time, nearer his End, he said to us present, in much Brokenness of Heart, I am full of Joy and Peace, my Spirit is filled with Joy ; or to this Effect : for by reason that his Speech was so weakened, several things could not be so well collected, which he at times spake, in a tender sense of the Lord's Goodness : the sense of which deeply affected some of us who were with him. And my Heart is sorrowfully affected at this time, in a sense of the great Loss which the Church of Christ (in these Parts especially) hath by his Removal : But in this I am comforted, in a living sense of the Lord's Mercy and Goodness towards him, in carrying him through his Affliction in great Patience and Quietness ; under which he was sweetly refreshed, by the Streams of Divine Love, and his Cup was often made to overflow : and we, who were present, being touched with a sense thereof, were comforted therein, being in a Travail of Spirit for him, and did in our Measures truly sympathize with him under his Affliction. And I am fully satisfied, he laid down his Head in Peace with the Lord, and is gathered to his Everlasting Rest. He departed this Life the 1st of the 3d Month, 1713. about the 2d Hour in the Morning, in the 74th Year of his Age. He received the Truth in the Year 1659, and lived in Fellowship with the Friends of it about 53 Years. And I think it may be truly said of him, That as he Lived so he Died, the Servant of the L O R D and His People, and hath left a sweet Savour behind him, and his Memory is blessed with the Righteous for ever, Amen.

GEORGE BOWLES.

The 8th Month, 1713.

A TESTIMONY FROM THE MONTHLY MEETING
AT HUNGER HILL, 1713.

THAT the Dead which Die in the Lord are Blessed of him, we have great Assurance of, from John the Divine his writing to the Seven Churches, Rev. 14. ver. 13. Where he tells them, that he Heard a Voice from Heaven, saying, Write, Blessed are the Dead which died in the Lord, from henceforth : Yea, saith the Spirit, that they may Rest from their Labours; and their Works do follow them. Of which Number, we have no Cause to doubt, but this our dear Friend is one ; who was eminently Serviceable in the Church of Christ. A Man to whom the Lord had given a large Capacity beyond many, and furnished him with an excellent Gift ; whereby he was qualified for those Services in the Church, in the performance of which, he did shine as a Star, which received its Luster and Brightness, from the Glorious Sun of Righteousness. He was Wise, but Humble ; Condescending to the Weak, and ready to Help, where he saw and felt Sincerity ; but Sharp to that which he apprehended to be Insincere and Deceitful ; for which Cause he was not acceptable to Hypocrites and Disorderly Walkers : Yet he was a Man of a very acceptable and agreeable Conversation, as well as Sober and Religious, both in the Church and in the World, being of a free and affable Temper and Disposition, far from Affectation ; but of a Courteous Behaviour and Graceful Carriage to all, and very Serviceable to and amongst his Neighbours : He was very Near and Dear to many of us, who were most intimately Acquainted with him, and his Memorial is sweet to us : His Services in our Meetings, and in the Quarterly Meeting for the County of Bucks, were very Great, and of many Years Continuance ; in which he shewed great Diligence, being of a ready Mind, willing to Serve the Church, according to that Ability which the Lord had given him ; and his Heart and House was open to his Friends, and the

Monthly Meeting was kept there more than Forty Years, and remains there to this Day. Our Loss is great by his Removal: But in this we are satisfied, that it is his Everlasting Gain; being gathered, as we have good Cause to Believe, to his Eternal Rest. The knowledge we had of him, and the good Account which we have received of him, in the time of his last Illness, by those who were most constantly with him, and of his quiet and peaceable Departure, doth sensibly Engage our Hearts to acquiesce in the Will of the Lord; and therein we have Peace and Comfort. He departed this Life, the First of the Third Month, 1713, and was Honourably Buried in Friends Burying place at New Jourdens, in the Parish of Giles Chalfont, in the County of Bucks, the Fourth Day of the same Month.

Signed by the Appointment of the Monthly-Meeting
by us,

GEORGE BOWLES,
WILLIAM GRIMSDAL,
JAMES SMITH,
DANIEL WHARLEY,

DANIEL ROBERTS,
ABRAHAM BARBER,
THOMAS OLLIFFE.

Fourth mo., 7th, 1713.

A TESTIMONY FROM THE WOMEN'S MEETING.

A Concern is upon our Spirits, to write somewhat concerning our dear deceased Friend and Elder, Thomas Ellwood, who was highly Valued by us, for that Wisdom and Counsel were with him; and being of a free and affable Temper, ready to Assist those which stood in need thereof, encouraged many to Apply to him for Advice, under the divers Circumstances, and various Exercises which this Uncertain World affords; which we have found to be for our Good, as we followed it. He was an early Comer to Meetings, seldom

hindred by Weather (though he lived Three Miles distant) when Bodily Weakness did not hinder, of late Years, being oft indisposed as to his Health. The Monthly-Meeting was held at his House about Forty Years, and he always look'd very kind and Courteous on Friends, when they came there, and took Care and Notice of the Meanest, who came in Sincerity. He was Zealous for Good Order, and against such, who, being in an Apostatized Spirit, Opposed it ; and may well be numbered amongst the Worthies, whose Names are upon Record for their Valour ; so is this our Friend worthy to be ; who never turned his back on such who Opposed the Truth ; but stood his Ground, as his Printed Sheets on such occasions do shew. As also his other Works of several kinds, do manifest how great Endowments God had bestowed on him, (Yet we, who knew him in his Conversation, are Engaged to set forth how Kind and Condescending he was to the Weakest Capacity, and would help out when they wanted a Word) that Generations to come may learn how good it is to forsake All, and follow Christ Jesus, as this our Friend did, and the Account of his Life, shews ; who not only Gives Wisdom but Teacheth Humility also.

He was greatly respected by his Neighbours, for his Services amongst them ; his Heart and Doors were open to the Poor, both Sick and Lame, who wanted Help, and had it freely, taking care to provide things useful for such Occasions (blest also with good Success) often saying, He mattered not what Cost he was at, to do Good. Such Lament their Loss ; what then may we do, who miss him in a Higher Station, in his great Service in the Church of Christ, but even desire to be resigned to the Will of the Lord ? who Preserved him through all his Hardships, to a Dominion over False Brethren, and is now out of their Reach, and of Temptation too ; on whose Head, the Blessing, ask'd for Joseph rests ; who as a Fruitful Bough his Branch spreads over the Wall of Opposition, and his Bow abode in Strength ; the Hands of whose Arms were made Strong, by the help of the Mighty God of Jacob, to whom be the Glory for what he hath wrought in

our Day, whose own Works Praise him for Evermore. And the Tears of Sorrow that we shed, for the Loss of this our Deceased Friend, let them be remembered to bow our Spirits, each of us, into a Godly Care, that we may come up according to our several Capacities, to follow the Lord Faithfully in a Godly Zeal for his Honour, and so come to lay down our Heads in Joy and Peace, as this our Friend expressed he did.

This Eminent Servant of Christ was Early Convinced of the Way of Truth, wherein he continued to the finishing of his Days; for the sake of which, he soon became a Sufferer; not only by Imprisonment, for Worshipping God in the Assemblies of his People, but also, from his Father, by whom he was made as an Outcast, for no other Cause, but for his Faithful Testimony in taking up the Cross to the Worlds Behaviour and Language: Whereupon he was Invited by his much valued Friend Isaac Penington, to his House; where he abode several Years, until he Married. He was a Blessing in, as well as a great Comfort and Help to that Family; and by his wise Conduct therein, gained much Esteem, not only from the Elders, but the Youth, whom he Instructed in Learning; and though most of them are by Death Removed, yet One still Remains, who from Certain and Experimental Knowledge, can Commemorate his Worth; being engaged thereto, from a Sense of the Benefit of his Good and Wholsom Advice, given at Sundry Times, and on Divers Occasions. Which Friendship continued firm to the Last.

His Natural Capacity was large, and his Understanding, in the things of God, very deep; which excellent Qualifications meeting in one, rendered him useful beyond many, to his Country, as well as very serviceable in the Church; by both which he is, and will be greatly missed. But he is gone to his Grave in a full Age, and gathered as a shock of Corn in its Season, having done his Days Work Faithfully: So that saying may be verified in him, The END Crowns all.

His Sickness was sudden, which soon deprived him of the use of his Limbs, yet he retained the Faculties of his Inward and Outward Senses clear all along;

and notwithstanding, at times, his Pains were Great ; his Exemplary Patience, and Composed Resignation, was remarkably apparent to those that Visited and Attended him ; so that their Sorrow in parting with so dear a Friend, was intermixed with Comfort in beholding the Heavenly Frame of Mind wherewith he was Adorned.

Thus after all his Labours, he entered into Everlasting Rest, and left many behind Weeping, though not without Hope, that they shall again meet at the General Assembly of Saints, where the redeemed shall sing Praises to their blessed Redeemer, whose Right it is to Reign for ever.

We have this farther to add, namely, That our Esteem of him was great, because of that real worth that was in him, through the Operation of the mighty Power of the Lord that separated him from the Love of the World : So that he chose (with Moses) rather to suffer Affliction with the People of God, than to enjoy the Pleasures of Sin for a Season, and it pleased the Lord to fit him with Wisdom and Counsel, so that he was made able to give Judgment in difficult Cases, wherein many of us have particularly received Benefit, and therefore have cause to lament the loss we have by his Removal. And Oh ! say our Souls, That the Lord would raise up many more in his Room, to the Praise and Honour of the good Husbandman. And it is our Desire that we, who are yet behind, may be made able to so Steer our Course, through this troublesome World, that when our End comes, we may lay down our Heads in Peace with the Lord, and leave a good Savour behind us, as this our Friend hath done.

This is written in true Love and Respect, to the Memory of our Deceased Friend, as it pleased the Lord to move upon our Hearts. And being read and approved in our Womens-Meeting at Hungerhill, the 4th of the 11th Month, 1713, was subscribed in behalf of the said Meeting by us.

MARY BAKER.

MARY WHARLEY.

MARY LARCUM.

ELIZABETH RICHARDSON, HER TESTIMONY.

HE was much esteemed amongst good Men : Good Men, in their Day and Station upon the Earth, represent him, who made all things good in the beginning, who said, Gen. 1. 3, Let there be Light, and there was Light. And also said, ver. 26, Let us make Man in our Image, after our Likeness. Oh, high Favour ! So God created Man in his own Image, in the Image of God created he him ; Male and Female created he them, v. 27, and blessed them, and gave them Dominion under himself ; for he was chief Commander then ; and so he is witnessed to be now, where his Heavenly Image is come into again, and Men Live in it, as did this our dear Friend, who did good in his Day and Generation : Counsel was with him, to give to such as needed, and did apply to him : He was of a Tender Spirit, and had Dominion over Passion, over Pride, and over Covetousness : So he was Comfortable to, and in his Family. He was Amiable in the Church of Christ, and a Doer of Good amongst his Neighbours. And being an Elder amongst, and with the Elders ; he had not only obtained a good Report, but also the blessing in the promised Seed, which bruises the Serpent's Head. He was Valiant in suffering for his Testimony which he held in the Truth ; and may not I say, unwearied in his Labours, for the setting forth the Fame and Excellency of it : Whereby we see what the Truth makes Men to be, who do come under the Conduct and Power of it ; even as fixed Stars in the firmament of his Divine Power ; who has caused the Morning of his Heavenly and Glorious Gospel-Day to break forth ; and as with the Day that springs from on High, in tender Mercy, hath he visited many Souls. And early did this our Worthy deceased Friend Embrace it, as it appears by his Testimony concerning that Eminent and Blessed Messenger, and Minister of the Gospel, G. F.

And now, he having endured the Times of Proving, and the Days of Tribulations and Suffering ; together with the Perils and Sights, and Undervaluings of False Brethren ; against whose Ungodly Work, he was engaged to stand, as a noble Warrior, in the defence of, and for the glorious Gospel of Christ : Not admiring

Mens Persons, but the Work of the Gospel-Power. And altho' he was endowed with Parts and Accomplishments above many, he was Humble and Grave ; not Self-seeking, but esteeming the Power of Truth, tho' it did appear through mean Instruments. He was Honourable ; and Honoured, for that he sought not his own Honour, but the Honour of Truth ; not only by his Sufferings for it, and Labours in it ; but also, in standing firmly against the loose Libertine Ones ; who would have thrust in amongst the Lambs and Flock of Christ, in an unclean adulterating Spirit, from the Life of the true Shepherd, and heavenly Husband, Christ Jesus : But to the tender Hearted, and sincere Minded, he was Strengthening and Comfortable. I knew him when I was Young ; and I can truly say, my Heart has often been affected, on his behalf, with Thankfulness to the Lord, who made him as a strong Pillar, in his spiritual House, with many more of His dear Servants and Children ; who shall no more go out. His Memory is in my Heart esteemed, beyond what I can Write. Oh surely ! The Righteous shall be had in Everlasting Remembrance, Psal. 112. 6. And they that be Wise shall shine as the brightness of the Firmament : And they that turn many to Righteousness, as the Stars for Ever and Ever, Dan. 12. 3. ELIZ. RICHARDSON.

Hunger Hill, the 5th
of the 7th month, 1713.

RICHARD VIVERS, HIS TESTIMONY.

HE was a Man of great Wisdom and Understanding ; and the Lord, the Giver of it, being pleased to visit him in his early Days, made choice of him, and by the Sanctification of his Holy Spirit, fitted, and prepared him for his Work and Service, whereunto he was called. And although he did not often appear as a Minister ; Yet, in those Meetings set a-part for the Affairs of Truth ; he often appeared in great Wisdom, having an extraordinary Talent given of the Lord for that Work, more than many other Brethren : And faithful he was in waiting for Instruction from God,

to improve the same to his Glory, and the Churches Advantage ; for nothing was more desirable to him, than to be employed in the Lord's Service ; So it pleased the Almighty to furnish him with Understanding and Strength, faithfully to do his Days work. And now he hath taken him to himself, where his Soul is at Rest ; and although our Loss be his Gain, therein I with many more are greatly comforted, for I can truly say, I loved him, in the Truth, from the First of my acquaintance with him, and so it remained to the End of his Course, being near Forty Years, since we knew each other : And when ever we conversed together, our Discourse was chiefly concerning Heavenly Things, and the Affairs of the Church, and I always thought my Time well spent with him ; although opportunity would not serve for so much of it as I desired, had it been the Will of God.

And this I can say, according to my Observation, He was a Man True to his Friend, and deliberate in the Choice of his Acquaintance, to whom he shewed real Love, and sincerity of Heart. And he was one of a steady and sound Judgment, as to the things of God ; often desiring, that those who came amongst us, especially Children of Believing Parents, might not settle down only in a Form of Godliness, without the Power (at which Door, the Apostacy entered) but that they might be raised up to walk in that, wherein the Saints Fellowship doth stand, which is the Light of our Lord Jesus Christ, enlightening every man that cometh into the World : And then the Ancient Testimony of Truth will be more and more raised up in their Hearts, and they being Preserved of the Lord in it, it will more be maintained in its several Branches, as in former Days. Blessed be the name of the Lord, who hath a People in these latter Ages of a World, to whom he hath given Power to stand for his Truth, whilst on Earth, and to be Tender of the Honour of his Name ; of the Number of whom, this our Deceased Friend and Brother was ; who, although Dead, yet his Memory Liveth, and will be preserved amongst the Righteous, in Generations yet to come.

Banbury, the 30th

RICHARD VIVERS.

of the 11th month, 1714.



THE LITTLE COTTAGE AT HUNGER HILL.

Mentioned in a rhyming epistle by Ellwood, giving directions for finding his house.

GENERAL NOTES.

THOMAS ELLWOOD'S HOUSE.

The house Thomas Ellwood occupied from the time of his marriage in 1669 till his death, is now demolished. For upwards of forty years the Upperside Monthly Meeting of Buckinghamshire was held there, and for most of this period Ellwood acted as Clerk. A visitor in 1867 describes the house as beautifully situated, but in a very dilapidated condition. In a MS. collection of Thomas Ellwood's verses, he describes the situation as follows :—

Two miles from Beaconsfield, upon the road
To Amersham, just where the way grows broad,
A little spot there is, called Larkin's Green ;
Where on a bank some fruit-trees may be seen ;
In midst of which, on the sinister hand,
A little cottage covertly doth stand,
" Soho ! " the people out, and then enquire
For Hunger Hill ; it lies a little higher,
But if the people should from home be gone,
Ride up the bank some twenty paces on,
And at the orchard's end thou may'st perceive
Two gates together hung. The nearest leave
The furthest take, and straight the hill ascend,
That path leads to the house where dwells thy friend.

An illustration is also given facing page 348 of a residence of Ellwood's at Chalfont St. Giles, from a sketch by De Cert, in 1798.

ELLWOOD'S GRAVE AT JORDANS.

The old Quaker Burial Ground at Jordans, near Chalfont St. Giles, is situated in a deep hollow amid beautiful woodland scenery. The present Meeting-house dates from 1688, and is quaintly furnished with

plain wooden forms and ministers' gallery. Underneath, at the rear of the building, are the remains of commodious stables, where Friends put their horses whilst attending meeting. In the burial ground very few of the graves have headstones, and these are a recent innovation to assist visitors to identify the graves of William Penn and his family. The founder of Pennsylvania lies buried in the same grave as his second wife, Hannah Penn, the fair Gulielma Maria Penn (*née* Springett), lying between it and that of her noble-hearted mother, Mary Penington. Isaac Penington is next on the right, and then Joseph Rule, a Quaker of the 18th century, who by reason of his dress was known as the White Quaker. Four of Penn's children occupy the graves immediately behind, and Thomas Ellwood and his wife the two in the third row.

GEORGE FOX IN BUCKINGHAMSHIRE.

[The following details are taken from the Bi-centenary edition of the Journal of George Fox, 8th edition, 1902].

1656.—“Now after I had visited the meetings of Friends in and about London, I went into Buckinghamshire, and Edward Pyot with me; and in several places in that county many received the truth. Great meetings we had, and the Lord's power was eminently manifested.”

1658.—“From Kingston I went to Isaac Penington's, in Buckinghamshire, where I had appointed a meeting, and the Lord's truth and power were precious manifested amongst us.”

1666.—“Then I travelled through Northamptonshire, Bedfordshire, Buckinghamshire and Oxfordshire, visiting Friends in each county.”

1668.—“After I had had several precious meetings in the country, I came to London again, where I stayed awhile in the work and service of the Lord; and then went into Buckinghamshire, where I had many precious meetings. At John Brown's, of Weston, near Aylesbury, some of the Men Friends of each meeting

being gathered together, the Men's Monthly Meetings for that County were established, in the order of the gospel, the power of God ; and the power of the Lord confirmed it in all that felt it, and they came thereby to see and feel that the power of God was the authority of their meetings."

1669.—" I travelled through Wiltshire, Berkshire, Oxfordshire, and Buckinghamshire, and so to London, visiting Friends ; in all which counties I had many large and precious meetings."

1670.—" After some time the heat of persecution in London began to abate, and meetings were quieter there. Being now clear of the city, I went to visit Friends in the country ; and attended several meetings in Middlesex, Buckinghamshire and Oxfordshire, which were quiet, though in some places there was much threatening."

1673.—" Thence passing into Buckinghamshire" [from Reading] " we had many precious meetings in that county."

1677, 2mo.—" Next day Edward Cooper of Northampton accompanied me to Olney in Buckinghamshire, where I stayed at James Brierlie's, several Friends coming to see me in the evening."

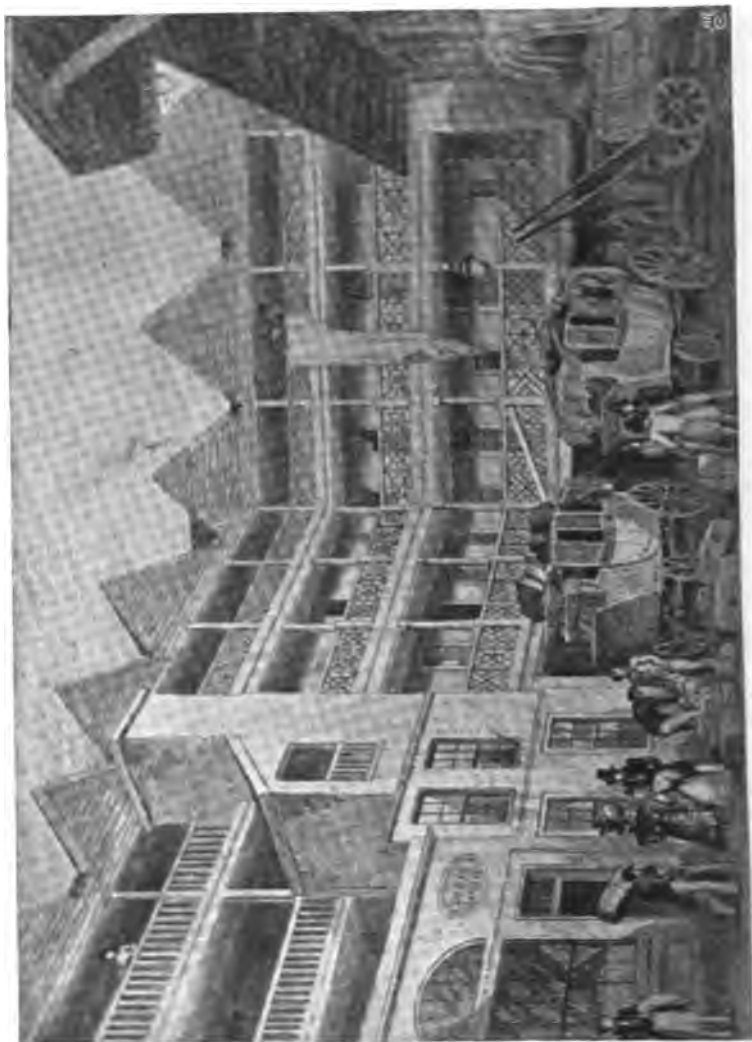
1677, 9mo.—" Having stayed a little among Friends there," [Kingston] " looking over a book I had then ready to go to press, I went into Buckinghamshire, visiting Friends, and having several meetings amongst them, as at Amersham, Hunger-Hill, Jordans, Hedgerley, Wycombe, and Turville-Heath. In some of which, they that were gone out from the unity of Friends in truth, into strife, opposition, and division, were very unruly and troublesome ; particularly at the Men's Meeting at Thomas Ellwood's at Hunger-Hill, where the chief of them came from Wycombe, endeavouring to make disturbance, and to hinder Friends from proceeding in the business of the meeting. When I saw their design, I admonished them to be sober and quiet, and not trouble the meeting by interrupting its service ; but rather, if they were dissatisfied with Friends' proceedings, and had anything to object, let a meeting be appointed on purpose some other day. So Friends

offered to give them a meeting another day : and at length it was agreed to be at Thomas Ellwood's the week following. Accordingly Friends met them there, and the meeting was in a barn, for there came so many that the house could not receive them. After we had sat awhile they began their jangling. Most of the arrows were shot at me ; but the Lord was with me, and gave me strength in His power to cast back their darts of envy and falsehood upon themselves. Their objections were answered, and things were opened to the people ; a good opportunity it was, and serviceable to the truth ; for many that before were weak, were now strengthened and confirmed ; some that were doubting and wavering were satisfied and settled ; and faithful Friends were refreshed and comforted in the springings of life amongst us. For the power arose, and life sprung, and in the arisings thereof many living testimonies were borne against that wicked, dividing, rending spirit, which those opposers were joined to, and acted by ; and the meeting ended to the satisfaction of Friends. That night I lodged, with other Friends, at Thomas Ellwood's ; and the same week had a meeting again with the opposers at Wycombe, where they again showed their envy, and were made manifest to the upright-hearted."

1678.—" Then visiting Friends through Buckinghamshire, at Long-Crendon, Ilmer, Meadle, Weston, Cholesbury, Chesham, etc., I came to Isaac Penington's, where I stayed a few days."

1680.—" After I had visited Friends in the bordering parts of Oxfordshire, Gloucestershire, and Northamptonshire, I passed to Richard Baker's, of Biddlesden in Buckinghamshire ; and next day, being First-day, I had a large meeting in Biddlesden, at an old abbey house, which a Friend rented and dwelt in. Many Friends and people came to it out of Oxfordshire, Northamptonshire and the parts adjacent ; and of good service it was. After this I visited Friends in these parts, having meetings at Lillingstone-Lovel and Bug-brook."

1681.—" Thence into Buckinghamshire, where I visited Friends at several meetings in that county."



THE "RUE AND MOUTH INN, LONDON

From an old Print

BULL AND MOUTH MEETING.

In the History of the London Friends' Meetings compiled by Wm. Beck and T. Frederick Ball (1869) some description is given of this historic meeting-house. It appears to have been closely attached to, if not an actual part of, an ancient inn known by the sign of the Bull and Mouth, in Aldersgate Street. The room is described as holding 1,000 persons, though that probably meant "standing." The premises were first taken in 1654, and "meetings were regularly held there (or else in the street adjoining, when the magistrates had boarded up its doors) until the building itself was destroyed in the Great Fire of 1666. On its being rebuilt, a tenancy by Friends was resumed until the year 1740, when it was decided to relinquish it, since which time the premises have been used for a carrier's yard." Sir Richard Browne, the persecuting Lord Mayor, lived closed at hand, in Ivy Lane. At one time part of the premises were used as a school for Friends' children under the care of John Field.

BIOGRAPHICAL NOTES.

WILLIAM ALDRIDGE.

Mentioned by Besse as having been imprisoned among other Friends, in 1666, for refusing to swear (*Sufferings*, vol. i., p. 78). The incident of 1683 is referred to in same volume, p. 82.

EDWARD BELSEN.

Resided at Haddenham. Under date 1689, Besse records that "in this and the two foregoing years were taken out of the Fields in Harvest for Tithes. From Edward Belsen, of Haddenham, Corn worth £2 11s."

GEORGE BOWLES.

"Formerly of Giles Chalfont, Bucks, was convinced of the blessed Truth in London about the year 1681. He was a man whom the Lord favoured with a good understanding, and although he had not much human learning, yet he was eminently endued with divine gifts . . . Sweetly did he run thro' a course of many years; and when thro' bodily infirmities he was rendered incapable of getting to meetings, which was a mile from his house, he removed to High Wycombe, that he might be near the Meeting House . . . He departed this life the 18th of 11th mo., 1721."—*Piety Promoted*.

SIR WILLIAM BOWYER.

Sir William Bowyer, of Denham, was the first baronet of that name. He was M.P. for Buckinghamshire in the first two parliaments after the Restoration. Denham Court, a fine old Elizabethan Mansion, was one of the numerous hiding-places of Charles I. The

story goes that the King was tracked there by blood-hounds, but the lady of the house hung a recently decapitated turkey over the panel which concealed him, and thus misled his pursuers.

SIR RICHARD BROWNE.

This Sir Richard Browne must not be confused with the Sir Richard Browne for some time Charles II.'s representative in Paris, and who afterwards returned to England. Alderman Sir Richard Browne who took the chief part in the persecution of the Quakers at this time, was a noteworthy character. At the commencement of the war between Charles I. and his Parliament he sided with the latter, and rose to the position of Commander in Chief of the forces for the three associated counties of Berks, Bucks and Oxon. He took part in the siege of Oxford in 1646, and the following year was elected member of Parliament for Wycombe. In 1648 he changed sides and was expelled from the House, deprived of his position as sheriff of London in consequence, and imprisoned for five years. In 1659 he was chosen by the city of London as one of a deputation to Charles II., and headed the procession that brought him back to London. His services were liberally rewarded by the king, who made him a knight. The citizens of London added to this by electing him Lord Mayor. He suppressed the Venner insurrection with great promptitude, and was further rewarded with a baronetcy and a pension of £500 a year. The great blot on his character was the way he informed on Scroop, one of the regicides. Besse writes in his *Sufferings*: "Such was his pride and passion, that he could not endure the sight of a Quaker without wrath and resentment."

EDWARD BURROUGH.

Edward Burrough was educated for a minister in the Episcopal Church, but joined the Presbyterians and became a powerful preacher. In 1652 he met George Fox in Westmorland, and after "great reasonings" joined the Quakers. Edward Burrough proved himself one of the most convincing of the earl, travel-

ling preachers in the new Society, and we find accounts of his work in many parts of England. In 1662 he accompanied George Whitehead and other Friends when they presented their petition to the House of Commons against the passing of the Act of Uniformity. When in 1661 news was received of the cruel persecutions—and even martyrdom—of the Quakers in New England, Edward Burrough went to Charles II. and told him, "there was a vein of innocent blood opened in his dominions, which if it were not stopped, would overrun all." To which the King replied, "But I will stop that vein." Edward Burrough said, "Then do it speedily, for we do not know how many may soon be put to death." The King answered, "As speedily as you will. Call," said he to some present, "the Secretary, and I will do it presently." A full account of how the King's mandamus was conveyed to Governor Endicott by a Quaker named Samuel Shattock is given in Fox's *Journal*, and the poet Whittier has retold the incident in "The King's Missive." Burrough himself suffered numerous imprisonments, and died of a fever in Newgate in 1662 (see p. 178).

SIR THOMAS CLAYTON.

Sir Thomas Clayton was a severe persecutor of the Quakers. He appears again in connection with the unjust trial and imprisonment of Thomas Zachary related by Ellwood. Sir Thomas had purchased The Vache at Chalfont St. Giles; this fine old estate had formerly been the property of the Fleetwoods, to whom he was related by marriage. At Oxford, Sir Thomas held the position of Warden of Merton College and Regius Professor of Medicine. In the church at Chalfont St. Giles are the remains of the very ornate tomb of James Clayton, his son.

THOMAS AND ANNE CURTIS.

Thomas Curtis, of Reading, a celebrated Quaker preacher, was convinced at Bristol, and took a prominent part in establishing meetings in Dorsetshire and Cornwall. In Fox's *Journal* there is a record of Thomas and Anne Curtis paying a visit to G. Fox

when he was imprisoned in Launceston Gaol (1656). In 1660 he is recorded as being with George Fox at Bridport, and in the same year as being present with the founder at Swarthmoor.

In 1666 Thomas Curtis is mentioned in a letter from Alexander Parker to Margaret Fell as being a prisoner with thirty-three others. His name also occurs among those released from prison by the famous patent of pardon (so called) of Charles II., dated 13th Sept., 1672.

The following further reference to Anne Curtis occurs in Fox's *Journal*. The incident took place when Fox was imprisoned in Lancaster Castle in 1660. He says: "About this time Ann Curtis, of Reading, came to see me; and understanding how I stood committed, it was upon her also to go to the King about it. Her father, who had been sheriff of Bristol, had been hung near his own door for endeavouring to bring in the King; on which consideration she had some hopes the King might hear her on my behalf. Accordingly, when she returned to London, she and Margaret Fell went to the King together, who, when he understood whose daughter she was, received her kindly. And her request to him being 'to send for me up, and hear the cause himself' he promised her he would, and commanded his secretary to send down an order for bringing me up."

Both these Friends joined the Separatists in the Wilkinson-Story Controversy in Reading, which commenced about 1677. For details of this see *Journal of the Friends' Historical Society*, vol. I., p. 57.

THOMAS DELL.

As early as 1660, Besse mentions that one Thomas Dell was apprehended, whilst riding through Maidenhead to visit Friends in prison at Reading (*Sufferings*, vol. i., p. 12). The scene at E. Perrot's funeral is described in same volume (p. 77). Thomas Dell on this occasion was imprisoned for nine months in Aylesbury gaol. Later on his name appears among those arrested at the meeting held at the house of William Russell at Jordans in 1670, and again in 1683, at the meeting

at Woobourn, raided by Sir Dennis Hampson and his party of horse.

GEORGE FOX THE YOUNGER.

George Fox, the younger, so named to distinguish him from *the* George Fox, although the former was actually the older man. He was of Suffolk, and died in Sussex, 1661. No known relation to the founder of the Quakers.

Both Besse and Sewel relate at some length the incident that caused George Fox the Younger to be in the position that Ellwood found him. It appears that whilst at Harwich he was haled out of a meeting and imprisoned under a pretence of having caused a tumult. Robert Grassingham, shipwright to the Admiralty, was arrested at the same time. Miles Hubbard, the Mayor of the town, having committed them to prison, sent information to the House of Commons, and on May 21st, 1660, a warrant was received for bringing them to London, where they were committed to Lambeth Gate House, under the charge of the Sergeant at Arms. They petitioned Parliament on the injustice of their position, and were released by a special order dated October 30th, 1660.

Fox wrote several pamphlets, and also an address to the King, entitled "A Noble Salutation to King Charles Stuart," which latter was delivered into the King's hands by Richard Hubberthorn. In 1661, he wrote a treatise on the wickedness of the times, entitled "England's sad estate and condition lamented," in which occurs a passage sometimes quoted as prophetic of the Great Plague. (Besse, *Sufferings*, vol. i., p. 195-197.)

THOMAS GOODYARE.

Thomas Goodyare (Goodyear; Goodair) was convinced by George Fox at Wakefield, in 1651, at the same time as James Nayler. He suffered many imprisonments. Five years before the letter referred to in the *History* was written, when in Oxford gaol for refusing to take the oath of Allegiance, the gaoler put irons on his legs, which being too small, caused

much suffering. Other indignities were imposed, and no straw was allowed for bedding. Thomas Goodyare was the author of *A Plain Testimony to the Ancient Truth and Work of God*. He died at Selby in 1693. (See J. Whiting's *Persecution Exposed; First Publishers of Truth*, p. 274, &c.).

RICHARD GREENAWAY.

Richard Greenaway was an active propagandist of Quaker doctrines. In 1658 there is a record of his imprisonment in London for preaching; in 1660 (May 27th) he is mentioned as being present at a meeting at Kingston Lisle, which was broken up by the county Militia, who "thrust some and threw others of them into a pond of muddy water." He was also arrested at Faringdon for "speaking a few words by way of exhortation after the Priest had ended his sermon." In 1662, he was taken up by the watch in Devonshire, and on refusing the oath, sent to prison. In 1664, he was again arrested for preaching from the porch of Peter Burdett's house. (Besse, *Sufferings*, vol. i., p. 154, 365).

THOMAS LOE.

Thomas Loe (Low) "is described as an Oxford tradesman, and as having been connected with the University." In 1654 he joined the Quakers during a visit of John Camm to the city. He and his wife, Mary Loe, suffered imprisonments and cruel persecutions. In 1659 he is mentioned, in company with Richard Greenaway, as preaching the "truth" in Witney. He travelled much, especially in Ireland, where he endured great hardships, and his strength was much impaired. Thomas Loe met with William Penn in Oxford, and also in Ireland, and was the means of his conviction to Quakerism. While on a visit to Wycombe, as one of a deputation to the Duke of Buckingham, T. Loe was taken ill. He was removed to London, to the house of Anne Greenwell, and afterward to Edward Man's, and at the house of the latter he died in 1668. (*First Publishers of Truth*, p. 212.)

JUDGE MORTON.

The son of James Morton, of Clifton, Sir William Morton graduated at Sidney Sussex College, and was called to the Bar in 1630. He took arms on the Royal side, and was governor of Sudeley Castle at the time of its surrender to General Waller, in 1644. Imprisonment in the Tower followed. Reinstated to favour at the Restoration, he was appointed a Judge of the King's Bench in 1665. He is reputed to have been very severe on highway robbers, and prevented the King granting a pardon to Claude Duval. He died in 1672.

JAMES NAYLER.

James Nayler was born in the parish of Ardsley about the year 1616, and came under George Fox's influence at Wakefield in 1651. He had been a member of an Independent church at Woodchurch, near Wakefield, and served under Fairfax in the Parliamentary Army. (See an interesting paper in the *Transactions of the Congregational Historical Society*, i., 220-251). Commencing his ministry in the North of England, in 1652 he was imprisoned for five months in Appleby gaol. Two years later he joined Edward Burrough and Francis Howgill in London, and it was here that the defection which had such unhappy consequences commenced. James Nayler was an enthusiast, and appears to have been carried away by his own powers as a preacher. Some foolish flatterers led him into extravagances which brought him into disgrace in 1656. When released from imprisonment in Exeter gaol in that year he marched through Glastonbury and Wells, men and women walking before him and strewing garments at his feet. He made a public entry into Bristol, escorted by a small party of his fanatic company. He was here arrested by the authorities and sent to London to be examined before Parliament, charged with immoral conduct and blasphemy. Influenced by party animosity, after many examinations, Parliament adjudged him to be guilty of blasphemy, and a most cruel sentence

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was passed. He was placed for two hours in the pillory at Westminster, and afterward scourged from Palace-yard to the Old Exchange, London, with 310 stripes. Nine days later he was again placed in the pillory, branded in the forehead with the letter B, and his tongue bored through with a hot iron. He was then transferred to Bristol, and flogged through the streets in that city, after which he was sent back to London and kept a prisoner for about two years. He bore all this with the greatest patience, and later had grace to confess his delusion. His address to his brethren bespeaks the real repentance of his heart :—
“ My heart is broken this day for the offence I have occasioned to God’s truth and people,—I beseech you, forgive wherein I evilly requited your love in that day. God knows my sorrow for it ! ”

James Nayler never entirely recovered from the cruelties imposed by Parliament. He died in 1660, in his forty-fourth year, and was buried in Thomas Parnel’s burying ground at King’s Ripton. His writings were published in 1716. See *The Fells of Swarthmoor Hall*, for many interesting letters and account of his trial, etc.

ALEXANDER PARKER.

Alexander Parker came of a good family and was born at Bentham, Yorks, in 1628. “ He was well educated, and had a gentleman-like carriage and deportment, as well as person, for I knew him well ” (Whiting : *Persecution Exposed*). He travelled extensively with George Fox in England, Scotland and in Holland, and was arrested in his company by Colonel Hacker, at Swannington, Leicestershire, in 1654. He was present at the General Meeting at John Crooks, in Bedfordshire, in 1658.* He was taken at a meeting at Mile End, in 1664, and committed to Newgate. He suffered many other imprisonments. During the Great Plague he stayed in London with George Whitehead, ministering to the sick. In 1669 he married Prudence Wager, of Stepney, a widow. Like many of the early Quakers,

* Whiting gives the date as 1655.

he wrote a number of books on the new teaching. "He died in peace with the Lord the 8th of the first month 1688-9." In *First Publishers* his name frequently occurs as having a share in the spreading of Quaker teaching to Herefordshire, Somersetshire, Kent and Sussex. See *Fells of Swarthmoor Hall* for letters and other references. Three of Alexander Parker's daughters married clergymen, one of them, George Stanhope, Dean of Canterbury.

ALDERMAN ISAAC PENINGTON.

The son of a London merchant, Isaac Penington inherited a handsome fortune. He married Abigail, daughter of John Allen, of London. He devoted himself to civic duties and became a keen politician. In 1638 he was High Sheriff and in 1642 Lord Mayor of London. He entered Parliament as member for the City in 1640, and later on was appointed Lieutenant of the Tower. Although he was one of the Commissioners of the High Court of Justice for the trial of Charles I., he did not sign the warrant for his execution. He received the honour of Knighthood from the Speaker of the House of Commons, and in 1649 was made a member of the Council of State. At the Restoration he was imprisoned in the Tower with twelve other members of the High Court that had tried Charles I., and after much cruel treatment died December, 1661. His estates and other property were confiscated by the Crown.

ISAAC AND MARY PENINGTON.

Both these Friends figure prominently in Ellwood's *History*. Isaac Penington was the son of Alderman Penington. (See above). His wife, Mary, was the daughter of Sir John Proude, a Kentish officer in the service of the States of Holland. At eighteen she married Sir William Springett, who fought gallantly on the Parliament side at Edgehill and Newbury, but died of fever at the siege of Arundel. Left a widow at twenty, with one little boy, who died not long after, Lady Springett soon after gave birth to a daughter, Gulielma Maria Springett. She then



Drawn by H. De Cord. 1798.

[Etched by Schnethelz.]

THE RESIDENCE OF ELIAWOOD, CHALFONT ST. GILES, BUCKS.

lived in London, where she met Isaac Penington, to whom she was married in 1654. They joined the Quakers shortly afterwards, and removed to Chalfont Grange, in Buckinghamshire. Between the years 1661 and 1670 Isaac Penington was imprisoned no less than six times for attendance at Quaker meetings, refusing to take the oath of allegiance, etc. He also suffered the confiscation of his estate at Chalfont Grange. Doubtless this harsh persecution was in some measure owing to the part his father had taken in the execution of Charles I.

After leaving Chalfont, the Peningtons resided in turn at Bottrels, Bury Farm, Amersham, and Woodside Farm, near Amersham. Isaac Penington died at Goodnestone Court, Kent, in 1679, in his sixty-third year, and his wife in 1682. For further particulars see *The Penns and Peningtons*, by Maria Webb, *Memoir of Isaac Penington*, by Henry Tuke, and his *Letters*, many editions.

WILLIAM PENN.

William Penn, the founder of Pennsylvania, was born in 1644. His father, Admiral Sir William Penn, had a brilliant career as a Naval Commander, and won great favour from Charles II. and the Duke of York; he was captain at twenty-one, rear-admiral at twenty-three, and commander of the forces at thirty-two. His chief naval exploit was the capture of Jamaica. Young William Penn came under Quaker influence by the preaching of Thomas Loe at Oxford. This was probably about the same time that Ellwood wrote his letter to Thomas Loe, referred to on page 76. William Penn afterwards met Loe in Cork and came out as a Quaker. His father stormed, expelled him from home, and threatened to disown him, but it was of no avail; the old life of a soldier, where he had already gained for himself military distinction, was given up, and Penn devoted himself to the promulgation of the new teaching. In 1669, he suffered imprisonment in the Tower, and it was during this confinement that he wrote *No Cross, no Crown*. In the following year he was arrested

for preaching in Gracechurch Street, London, and a celebrated trial followed.

Two years later (1672) Penn married the fair Gulielma Springett, so often mentioned in Ellwood's *History*. The ceremony took place at King's Farm, Chorley Wood, Bucks, a fine old timbered building, a portion of which is still standing, and the newly married couple went to live at Basing House, Rickmansworth. Here it was that Penn planned his colony over the seas.

He sailed from Deal in the *Welcome* in 1682, accompanied by a goodly number of Quakers. Shortly after landing, a treaty with the Indians took place, by which the white man and the redskin bound themselves to live peaceably together as one family—"the only league between the natives and the Christians which was never sworn to and never broken."

During the reign of James II. Penn was unjustly accused of being a Jesuit in disguise, and siding with the king against the people. His last years were beset with financial difficulties, owing to the faithlessness of a trusted servant. He passed peacefully away in his Berkshire home, near Rushcombe, in 1718, aged seventy-four, and was buried in the Quaker burying-ground at Jordans. The best lives of Penn have been written by Hepworth Dixon, Janney, and Clarkson. An excellent short biography has also been written by Frances E. Cooke. *Some Fruits of Solitude* is probably Penn's best-known work at the present day. It has in recent years been republished in numerous editions, both in England and America.

JOHN RAUNCE.

Dr. John Raunce was a physician of Wycombe, and took considerable part in the establishment of Quakerism in Bucks. In the records of the Corporation of High Wycombe, there is an account of the arrest of a number of Friends in 1664 "at the house of John Raunce in this Burrough, under ptence of religious worshipp, contrary to a late Act of Parliament," * who were afterwards imprisoned in the House of

* The document is reprinted in full in *Jordans and the Chalfonts*, 2nd edition, p. 80.

Correction, a loathsome dungeon in Frogmore ward. John Raunce himself was arrested the following year while attending the funeral of Edward Perrot at Amersham (p. 191), and sent with a number of other Friends to Aylesbury gaol. He also appears to have been imprisoned in 1671.

In the "Return of Conventicles" of 1667 a conventicle is reported as being held at the house of "John Raunce, practiser of Physick," and his name also occurs in connection with similar gatherings in other parts of the country.

When the schism occurred among the Quakers about 1675, John Raunce took a leading part with the Separatists. It is strange to find one who had shown great kindness to Thomas Ellwood in the days of his persecution, and had even pleaded with his father on his behalf, making malicious charges against his former friend. Joseph Wyeth refers to these in his *Supplement* to Ellwood's Life, and gives Ellwood's refutation.

In 1677, George Fox paid a special visit to Hunger Hill and Wycombe to attempt to restore harmony among Friends. That the schism still existed in 1694 is evidenced by a minute of the Uppertime Monthly Meeting of the Society of Friends, which ordered that a copy of Fox's *Journal* be presented "to the Friends of Wycombe meeting, who stand faithful in their testimony against the separation and separate meeting set up there by John Raunce and his party."

Mr. Summers mentions that a tradition handed down at Wycombe states that Raunce was not buried in the Friends' burying-ground, but in a field near the site.

John Raunce married twice. It was his first wife Frances who showed such motherly kindness to Ellwood. His second wife was Elizabeth Brown, of Weston Turville.

DANIEL ROBERTS.

The son of John Roberts, of Cirencester, Daniel Roberts was born about the year 1656, and settled

at Chesham about the year 1685. He married twice, first Rebecca Axtell, of Chesham, who died in 1688, and second Elizabeth Blatt, of Reigate. He carried on the business of a mercer, and for more than forty years was one of the leading Friends of the Upper-side Monthly Meeting. Previous to settling in the district, he had suffered nearly two years imprisonment in Gloucester Castle. The history of this time is related in the account he wrote of his father's persecution, which, under the title of *Some Memoirs of the Life of John Roberts*, has passed through many editions. "It is one of the most racy and interesting works in the whole range of Quaker biography." He died on the 16th of February, 1726-7, and was buried in the Friends' Burial Ground, Chesham. See *A Quaker of the Olden Time* (Headley Bros.) 1898.

WILLIAM RUSSELL.

"This worthy yeoman was born somewhere about the closing years of Elizabeth's reign. There is a petition, dated 1636 from the parishioners of Chalfont St. Giles to Archbishop Laud, asking for the restoration to his living of their rector, Thomas Vallentine, and among the signatures are those of 'William Russell' and 'William Russell, jun.' The latter was probably the same who afterwards became a Quaker" (Summers, *Jordans and the Chalfonts*, p. 170).

He was largely instrumental in the establishment of the Meeting at Jordans, near Chalfont St. Giles, where so many noteworthy Quakers are buried. A conventicle was reported at his house in 1669. In 1671 he sold a portion of his land to Ellwood and others for the purpose of a burying ground. George Fox visited his house in 1673. Besse records in 1676 that when "near eighty and almost blind" he was imprisoned and had cows and sheep worth £22 12s. taken from him for tithes amounting to £5 14s., at the suit of "Priest Rolls" of Chalfont St. Giles. He died in 1683 and was buried at Jordans.

The present Meeting-house at Jordans dates from about 1688.

See *Jordans and the Chalfonts*, chapter xxviii., p. 202.

GEORGE SALTER.

George Salter, of Hedgerley, appears as one of the most frequent sufferers for the Quaker principles in the county of Buckingham. He is mentioned in the Lambeth "Return of Conventicles" as holding a meeting at his house with an average attendance of fifty or sixty. Besse records imprisonments or prosecutions in 1656, 1660, 1665, 1667, 1669, 1674, 1683, 1684, and 1690. A summary of these cases is given in *Jordans and the Chalfonts*, second edition, p. 99. In an indenture of the purchase of some land in 1622, preserved in the Friends' Library at Devonshire House, London, George Salter is spoken of as a labourer. In his will, dated 1691, also preserved in the same library, he is referred to as "yeoman." His numerous bequests indicate that he had attained much prosperity in spite of his fines and imprisonments. He was connected by family ties with the families of Aldridge, Sexton and Nicholas.

OLIVER SANSOM.

Oliver Sansom was born at Beedon, in Berkshire, in the year 1636. His father was a timber merchant and a member of the Church of England. After much spiritual conflict Oliver joined the Quakers at Boxford, in 1663, and suffered many imprisonments for refusing to attend church, etc. He afterwards lived at Faringdon and Abingdon, and made two missionary journeys to Ireland. He died in 1710, and was buried at Abingdon. His *Life* was published by J. Sowle the same year. It is an extremely valuable record of the persecutions the Quakers had to endure, and gives many particulars of the "Informing trade" referred to by Ellwood.

SAMUEL THORNTON.

Under date 1662, Besse records that Samuel Thornton, for refusing the oath of allegiance, was imprisoned in York Castle without any trial by jury. On another occasion he was arrested at a meeting at Askwith, where Friends had gathered to consider how they

could relieve the poor, the fatherless, and the widows, and perform other acts of charity (*Sufferings*, vol. ii.; p. 108, 155).

ANN TRAVERS.

Ann Travers is mentioned in a letter from Ellis Hookes to Margaret Fell, dated London 6th 9 mo., 1666. He says: "I am not as yet settled in a place since the fire, but I am about taking a chamber in Aldersgate-street. I am at present at Ann Travers', at Horsely-down" (*Fells of Swarthmoor Hall*, p. 260). Her name occurs again in a letter from John Rous, son-in-law to Margaret Fox (formerly Fell), dated Kingston, 20th of the 1st month, 1684 (?). The writer speaks of sending his daughter Nanny "to Anne Travers' School at Chiswick." (*Ib.*, p. 383).

MORGAN WATKINS.

Morgan Watkins was a Friend of Herefordshire. In *First Publishers of Truth* (p. 117) he is referred to as Morgan Watkins, Jun., "dweling then [1656] at ye Grainge of Wigmor." He received, and entertained at his house, Alexander Parker and Edward Edwards, two of the first Quaker preachers in those parts. From the same publication we also learn that in 1670, a meeting was "removed to ye house of ye afore said Morgan Watkins, then Liveing in ye Parish of Eyton, near unto ye Towne [Leominster], where it continued for the space of fourteen Years & Three Moneths, (*viz.*), until ye 3 mo, 1684."

In the *Journal of George Fox* there is a record of Morgan Watkins being present at a meeting in Radnorshire in 1659. George Fox speaks of him as "then becoming loveing to Friends." He afterwards became a preacher and sufferer for the truth. In a letter to Margaret Fell dated 5th 10 mo. (December), 1665, he speaks of having recently been in prison twice in Newgate and once at the Gatehouse (near Westminster Abbey), and continues: "I had several battles with death [which] have much weakened my body. It was the arising of the power of God that gave me dominion over the distemper, and over the weakness of the

flesh. The day was dreadful to all, and few were able to abide it, and stand the judgment ; but the Lord is very merciful to the remnant of his people."*

Other references to Morgan Watkins occur in Besse's *Sufferings*, where we read of imprisonments in Westmorland and Herefordshire.

DANIEL WHARLEY.

A Quaker woollen draper, of London, who married Mary, the daughter of Isaac Penington, at Old Jordans Farm, in 1686. He lived for some years at New House, Chalfont St. Giles, which was built by him, and his name often occurs in local Quaker minutes and other records. He died April 3rd, 1721, and was buried at Jordans. His wife survived him till Nov. 23rd, 1726. The name still occurs at Chalfont, but is now spelt Worley. See Summers, *Jordans and the Chalfonts*, p. 235.

GEORGE WHITEHEAD.

George Whitehead was born at Sun-rigg in Westmorland in 1636. He became convinced of Quaker principles when only fourteen years of age, and formed one of a notable band of "sixty," who about the year 1650 started forth from the north of England on an evangelistic mission that originated the Society of Friends. He was a skilful controversialist, and it is on record that at one meeting he held in Norfolk, "nearly the whole congregation was convinced by the mighty power of God, through his lively and piercing testimony and prayer." George Whitehead gave much time and strength to the pleading of the cause of the oppressed. In 1662, accompanied by Edward Burrough and other Friends, he appeared before the bar of the House of Commons in the hope of preventing the passing of the Act of Uniformity. In this they were unsuccessful, but the deputation created a deep

* This was the year of the Plague of London. The total number of deaths registered in London by Friends, in the year 1665 was 1,177. (*The Fells of Swarthmoor Hall*, 1896, p. 249.)

impression in the House. Later on, George Whitehead took the leading part in obtaining a general "Pardon" from Charles II., whereby over 490 persons were released from gaol, among the number being John Bunyan. He was also successful in obtaining relief from many hardships in the reigns of James II. and William and Mary. Although born in the reign of Charles I., George Whitehead lived to see George I. crowned king, and took part in a deputation of Friends which waited upon the King and the Prince of Wales to present an address of welcome from the Society. He died in 1723, and was buried by the side of George Fox in the Quaker ground at Bunhill Fields. See biography by William Beck; also by S. Tuke (2 vols.).

JOHN WHITEHEAD.

John Whitehead was an eminent minister amongst the early Friends. William Penn, in his preface to the *Gospel Labours of John Whitehead*, tells that, "He was bred a soldier in our late Civil Wars, but changed his weapons, warfare and captain about 1654, when he listed himself under the Banner of Christ, for the promotion of his peaceable Kingdom among Men, where he was not less diligent and valiant." Two years previous to this, when a soldier at Scarborough, he had come under the influence of William Dewsbury, one of Fox's early followers, whilst on a visit to Malton. He was a valiant exponent of the "Truth," and took a leading part in its spread in Lincolnshire. In *First Publishers of Truth* the following record of his labours and persecution in the city of Lincoln appears:—

"In the beginning of the Ninth Month, in the year 1654, John Whitehead first came to preach the Light within, and for bearing Testimony (in the High Place called the Minster in Lincoln) that it is the Light of the Glorious Gospel that Shines in Man's heart, & Discovers Sin, He was buffeted & most Shamefully intreated, being often Knocked down by the Rude & Barberous People, who were encouraged thereunto by Humphrey Wallcott, who then was in Commission to have Kept the peace, but brake it by striking of the said John Whitehead with his own hands; wch so

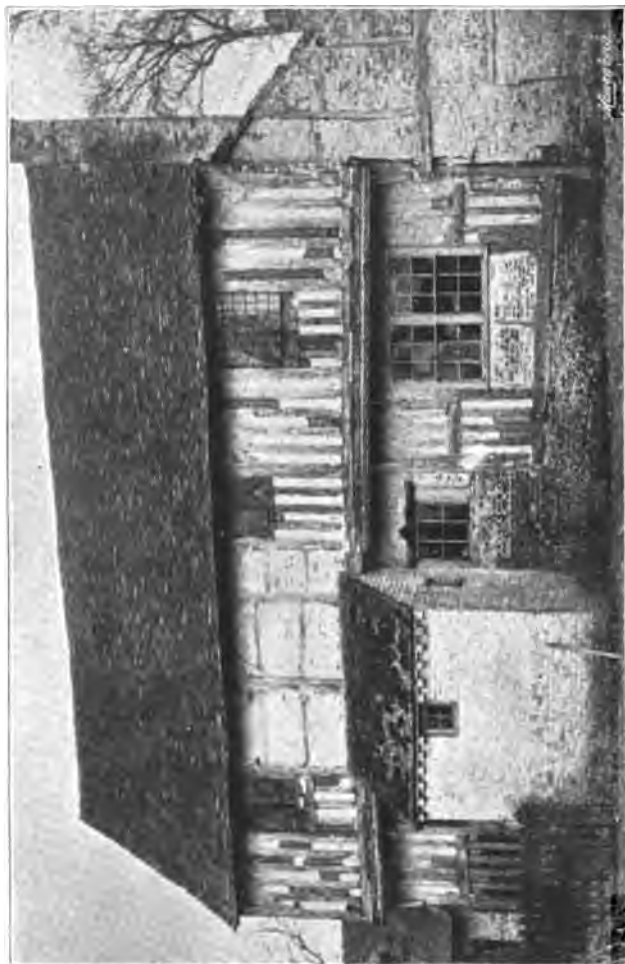


Photo by]

KING'S FARM, CHORLEY WOOD.

In one of the rooms William Penn and Guelielma Springett were married.

[J. J. Walker.

encouraged the Rude People, that so far as could be seene they had slaine the said John, but that God stirred some soldiers to take him by Force from amongst them."

In 1666 John Whitehead assisted in the release of George Fox from Scarborough Castle, and carried the order for it to him. He also wrote an interesting letter to George Fox which is reported in the *Journal of the Friends' Historical Society*, vol. i., p. 42. He died in 1696. See *Life and Writings of John Whitehead*, 1852; also *Gospel Labours*, 1704.

JOSEPH WYETH.

Joseph Wyeth, the first editor of Thomas Ellwood's *History*, was a merchant, of Gracechurch Street, London. He took considerable part in the pamphlet warfare against the Separatists. His best known work was entitled *Anguis Flagellatus: or A Switch for the Snake*, etc. This was an answer to Charles Leslie's *A Snake in the Grass*. He was present at the embarkation of Thomas Story for America in 1698. T. S. refers to him in his *Journal* as "My very sure Friend," and speaks of his being in "particular manner in favour with the King." He died of a fever in 1730, and was buried at the Friends' Burial Ground, the Park, Southwark, on the 15th of 11th mo., aged sixty-seven years.

THOMAS ZACHARY.

Thomas Zachary was born in 1622, and "from childhood felt the seed of God working in him." In his business life he prospered, but was troubled at the deceit often practised in connection with commercial transactions. Hearing of the work of the Quaker preachers in the north of England, in 1654 he attended a meeting at the Bull and Mouth Meeting, London. Although not at first impressed by the teaching he heard, he was gradually drawn into full sympathy with the Quakers, and became a worker and sufferer in the cause. In 1664 he suffered three separate imprisonments in Newgate.

He had a country house at Beaconsfield in Bucks, and it was this fact that brought his name before the informers, Lacy and Aris, referred to by Ellwood. John Whiting, in *Persecution Exposed*, says he "knew and heard him in meetings in London in 1675." He died in 1684, aged sixty-four years. There is an interesting reference to Thomas Zachary in a dream Mary Penington relates in her Autobiography, which indicates they were acquainted with each other some time before joining the Quakers.

CHRONOLOGICAL MEMORANDA.

Lutheran Reformation - - - - -	1517
Rise of Puritanism - - - - -	1559
Jacob Böhme - - - - -	1576-1624
James I. reigns - - - - -	1603-1625
John Milton - - - - -	1608-1675
English Bible, Authorised Version - - -	1611
Isaac Penington - - - - -	1616-1679
Pilgrim Fathers - - - - -	1620
Charles I. reigns - - - - -	1625-1649
George Fox - - - - -	1624-1691
John Bunyan - - - - -	1628-1688
Thomas Ellwood born - - - - -	1639
William Penn - - - - -	1644-1718
George Fox began his ministry - - - -	1647
Justice Bennett, of Derby, gives name of "Quakers" - - - - -	1650
Isaac Penington and Lady Springett married	1654
Earliest Trace of Quakerism in Bucks - -	1655
George Fox and Edward Pyot visit Bucks -	1656*
Fall of James Nayler ; seldom fewer than 2,000 Friends in prison - - - - -	1656
General Meeting at John Crook's, Bedfordshire	1658
Death of Cromwell - - - - -	1658
Nayler and Burrough at Chalfont Grange -	1659
Ellwood joins the Quakers - - - - -	1659
Charles II. ; Ellwood imprisoned at Oxford	
Insurrection of Fifth Monarchy Men - - -	1660
Isaac Penington and sixty other Quakers in Aylesbury gaol ; Defection of John Perrot	1661

* Other visits took place in 1658, 1666, 1668, 1669, 1670, 1673, 1677, 1678, 1680, 1681.

360 Chronological Memoranda.

Act of Uniformity	- - - - -	1662
Four thousand two hundred Quakers in prison ;		
Edward Burrough dies in Newgate	- -	1662
Conventicle Act passed	- - - - -	1664
Five Mile Act passed	- - - - -	1665
Penington and Ellwood arrested at Edward		
Perrot's funeral at Amersham	- -	1665
Great Plague ; John Milton at Chalfont St.		
Giles	- - - - -	1665
Ellwood arrested at Hedgerley	- - -	1666
Milton's <i>Paradise Lost</i> published	- - -	1667
Robert Barclay and William Penn join Friends	1667-8	
Monthly Meetings set up in Bucks	- -	1668
Ellwood marries Mary Ellis	- - -	1669
Conventicle Act renewed ; Trial of William Penn		
and William Mead	- - - - -	1670
Purchase of Jordans Burial Ground	- -	1671
" Patent of Pardon "	- - - - -	1672
William Penn marries Gulielma Springett	- -	1672
Wilkinson-Story Separation commences	-	1675
Bunyan's <i>Pilgrim's Progress</i> and Barclay's <i>Apology</i>		
published	- - - - -	1678
Death of Isaac Penington	- - - - -	1679
Publication of W. Rogers' <i>Christian Quaker</i>	-	
William Penn founds Pennsylvania	- -	1682
Declaration of Indulgence	- - - - -	1687
Toleration Act passed	- - - - -	1689
Friends' Affirmation Act passed	- - -	1696
Death of Thomas Ellwood	- - - - -	1713

BIBLIOGRAPHY.

In the summary of the various editions of Ellwood's Life given below, it will be noticed that the first two were published by "the Assigns of J. Sowle," in White Hart Court, in Gracious Street. J. Sowle was evidently the widow of Andrew Sowle, a well-known Quaker printer, who died in 1695. A brief account of his life appears in *Piety Promoted*, vol. i., p. 115. He suffered much for the cause he undertook to promote, "his house being often searched, and his printing materials, as presses, letters, etc., as often broken to pieces, and taken away, as any Friends' books were found printing by him; and this they did for many years together." The narrative goes on to relate how that at one time he had "about a thousand reams of printed books taken from him, yet he was never heard to complain, but he would say, he was glad to have anything to lose for truth. . . . When at another time his adversaries came to take away his printing press . . . he set forth meat and drink before them, according to the command, Rom. xii. 19, 20, to feed even his enemies; and his good so overcame their evil, that some of them departed under a concern."

Andrew Sowle had a remarkable daughter, named Tace or Tacy Sowle, who when her father retired in 1691, carried on the business for her mother. Dunton, a contemporary bookseller, wrote concerning her in 1704, "She is both a printer, as well as a bookseller, and the daughter of one; and understands her trade very well, being a good compositor herself. Her love and piety to her aged mother is eminently remarkable, even to that degree, that she keeps herself unmarried, for this only reason (as I have been informed), that it

may not be out of her power to let her mother have always the chief command in her house." Tacy Sowle, however, did marry at last, her husband being a north country Quaker named Thomas Raylton, who settled in London in 1705, and became manager of the printing business. After his death in 1723, his widow appears to have carried on the business alone for some years, but in 1740 Luke Hinde's name appears as a partner. James Phillips, who published the fourth edition of Ellwood, was a successor to Luke Hinde's business in George-yard, Lombard Street.

Referring now to the general writings of Thomas Ellwood, a list of which is also appended, it will be noted that the earliest published work was issued by "Robert Wilson at the Black-Spread-Eagle and Wind-Mill in Martin's l'Grand" in 1660. Robert Wilson appears to have acquired the business of Giles Calvert, the first publisher of Quaker books, whose imprint we find on George Fox's writings as early as 1653. The appointment of Licensers by the Government in 1662 seriously interfered with the freedom of the press, and for the next twenty years the writings of dissenters were rarely published with either the bookseller's or printer's name attached. This undoubtedly accounts for the absence of an imprint on several of Ellwood's earlier works.

Benjamin Clark, whose name next appears, was known among the book fraternity as "thee-and-thou-Clark." He was the London publisher of the original edition of Robt. Barclay's *Apology*, which was printed in Latin, at Amsterdam in the year 1676." The same business appears to have been held by both William Skeate and Thomas Howkins in 1683.

In 1691 the imprint of Tace Sowle first appears, and from that date till his death, Ellwood's works were issued from the same press.

Evidence seems to indicate that the expense attendant upon the publication of a large number of the early Quaker writings was met by a fund raised specially for the purpose. This would account for the reference by Joseph Wyeth in his Supplement (p. 298) to Ellwood journeying up to London to present an epistle he

had written to the "Morning-Meeting, where such Books and Writings of Friends, as are intended for the Press, used to be read and consider'd." Ellis Hooke, the first recording clerk or secretary of the Quaker Society, appears to have been responsible for seeing such works through the press (see also page 270).

The history of the publications of these early days is an extremely interesting one. That the Quakers were in the forefront as believers in the power of the press is evidenced by the fact that "during the years 1650 to 1708 not less than 2,678 different publications—varying in dimensions from a quarto of four pages to a folio of nine hundred, were printed by members of the Society." London Yearly Meeting in 1691, in order to encourage the printing and circulation of Friends' books, directed each Monthly Meeting to take at least two of every small work, issued with their approbation, and one of every large work.*

EDITIONS OF ELLWOOD'S LIFE.

THE HISTORY OF THE LIFE OF *Thomas Ellwood* . . .

Written by his own hand. London: Printed and sold by the Assigns of *J. Soule* in White-Hart-Court in Gracious-street, 1714.

(See facsimile on p. xxv. for full title).

SECOND EDITION, 1714. Same Publisher.

THIRD EDITION, 1765. London: Luke Hinde, at the Bible, in George-yard, Lombard-street.

FOURTH EDITION 1791. London: James Phillips, George-yard, Lombard-street.

FIFTH EDITION, 1825. York: W. Alexander & Son, etc.

* The information contained in the above notes has been gleaned from an interesting series of articles on *Antiquarian Researches among the Early Printers and Publishers of Friends' Books*, first published in *The Friend* (Philadelphia), and afterwards reprinted as a pamphlet by John Harrison, of Manchester, in 1844.

SIXTH EDITION, 1855. Manchester: John Harrison & Son.

Another Edition, 1775. Philadelphia.

Another Edition, 1827. Hunt & Clarke, York Street.

Another Edition, 1836. Lindfield.

Another Edition, 1843. Philadelphia.

Another Edition, 1885. London: Geo. Routledge.

Another Edition, 1900. Edited by C. G. Crump.
London: Methuen & Co., Essex Street, W.C.

ILLUSTRATED SUBSCRIPTION EDITION, 1906. Edited
by Samuel Graveson. Historical Introduction by
Rev. W. H. Summers. London: Headley Brothers,
14, Bishopsgate Street Without, E.C.

POCKET EDITION of Quaker Classics, 1906. Text as
above, and same publishers.

LIST OF ELLWOOD'S PUBLISHED WRITINGS.

	Date of first Publication
"AN ALARM TO THE PRIESTS," etc. - - -	1660
(Printed for Robert Wilson; at the Black- Spread-Eagle and Wind-Mill in Martin's l'Grand).	
"A FRESH PURSUIT," etc. (broadside) - -	1674
"FORGERY NO CHRISTIANITY," etc. - -	1674
"TRUTH PREVAILING AND DETECTING ERROR" -	1676
"THE FOUNDATION OF TYTHES SHAKEN" -	1678
(Second edition 1720).	
A TESTIMONY CONCERNING ISAAC PENINGTON -	1681
(In Isaac Penington's Works).	
AN ANTIDOTE AGAINST THE INFECTION OF WILLIAM ROGERS'S BOOKS - - -	1682
(Printed for Benj. Clark in George-yard, Lombard Street).	

- | | Date of First
Publication. |
|--|-------------------------------|
| A CAUTION TO CONSTABLES - - - | 1683 |
| (Printed for William Skeate, George-yard,
Lombard-street). | |
| A DISCOURSE CONCERNING RIOTS - - - | 1683 |
| (Printed for Thomas Howkins in George-
yard, Lombard-street. Second edition
published same year). | |
| A SEASONABLE DISSWASIVE FROM PERSECUTION- 1683 | |
| (Printed for William Skeate. Reprinted in
Ireland in 1684). | |
| ROGERO MASTIX : A ROD FOR WILLIAM ROGERS 1685 | |
| AN EPISTLE TO FRIENDS - - - - - | 1686 |
| (Reprinted in Manchester). | |
| " AN ACCOUNT FROM WICKHAM EXAMIN'D " - 1689 | |
| (Reprinted 1690). | |
| " A REPLY TO J. H.'s* ANSWER TO W. P."† - 1691 | |
| (Printed and sold by T. Sowle at the Crooked-
Billet, in Holloway-Lane in Shoreditch). | |
| " ANSWER TO LEONARD KEY'S LATE PRINTED
SHEET " (broadside) - - - - - | 1693 |
| DECEIT DISCOVERED AND MALICE MANIFESTED 1693 | |
| (Printed and Sold by T. Sowle at the Crooked-
Billet, Holy-well-lane). | |
| A FAIR EXAMINATION OF A FOUL PAPER - - - 1693 | |
| (Same Publisher). | |
| AN EPISTLE TO FRIENDS - - - - - 1694 | |
| (Printed and sold by T. Sowle, at the
Crooked-Billet in Holy-well-lane, Shore-
ditch, and near the Meeting-House in
White-Hart-Court, in Grace-Church
Street). | |
| " A FURTHER DISCOVERY OF THE SPIRIT OF CON-
TENTION," etc. - - - - - 1694 | |
| (Same Publisher). | |

* Supposed to be J. Hogg, a Separatist, of Hull. † Wm. Penn.

- | | Date of first
Publication. |
|---|-------------------------------|
| " ACCOUNT OF THAT EMINENT AND HONOURABLE
SERVANT OF THE LORD GEORGE FOX " -
(Printed in George Fox's Journal). | 1694 |
| " TRUTH DEFENDED AND THE FRIENDS THEREOF
CLEARED " - - - - -
(Printed and sold by T. Sowle, White-Hart-
Court). | 1695 |
| " AN ANSWER TO GEORGE KEITH'S NARRATIVE " -
(Same Publisher). | 1696 |
| " A SOBER REPLY," &c. (Same Publisher.) -
(Reprinted 1699 and 1700). | 1699 |
| " SACRED HISTORY OF THE OLD TESTAMENT " -
(Same Publisher. 2nd edition 1720; 4th
edition 1778; 5th edition 1794). | 1705 |
| " THE GLORIOUS BRIGHTNESS OF THE GOSPEL
DAY." - - - - -
(Printed by J. Sowle, White-Hart-Court). | 1707 |
| " SACRED HISTORY OF THE NEW TESTAMENT " -
(Same Publisher. Reprinted, New York). | 1709 |
| " DAVIDEIS." The Life of David in Verse. -
(Printed and sold by the Assigns of J. Sowle,
in White-Hart-Court. (2nd edition, 1727;
3rd edition 1749; 4th edition, 1763; 5th
edition, 1796). Also 1722 & 1754 | 1712 |
| AN ANSWER TO SOME OBJECTIONS OF A MODERATE
QUAKER "*" - - - - -
(Printed at end of the early editions of the History
of his Life). | |
| " AN ACCOUNT OF TYTHES IN GENERAL " - - -
(Printed at end of the early editions of the History
of his Life). | |

In addition to the works written by Thomas Ellwood
and published in his lifetime, Joseph Smith records

A Collection of Poems on Various Subjects, "published and sold by MARY HINDE, at No. 2, in *George-Yard, Lombard-Street*. [Price SIX-PENCE]." This collection includes epitaphs on Ellwood's friends, Isaac and Mary Penington, also some interesting verses entitled *Love's Definition*. Ellwood's attitude to Guli Springett is possibly explained in the following lines :—

He's a *true* Lover (not who can subdue
Monsters and Giants for his Mistress' sake,
And sighs perhaps and weeps, with much ado,
For fear she should some other happy make

But) who so far her Happiness prefers
Before his own, that he can be content
To sacrifice his own to purchase hers,
Tho' with the Price of his own Banishment.

A hearty Lover wholly doth devote
Himself, to make her happy whom he loves,
And doth with might and main her good promote,
Altho' destructive to his Hopes it proves.

INDEX.

- "ACT OF CLEMENCY," xvii.
 Agmondesham, *see* Amersham.
 Aldridge, Robert, 286, 353.
 Aldridge, William, 286, 340.
 Allen, Abigail, 348.
 Amersham, xvi., 118, 191, 201,
 206, 238, 309, 315, 337.
 Ancrum, Charles Kerr, Earl of,
 204.
 Andrewes, Dr. John, xiii.
 Archdale, Matthew, 106.
 Archdale, John, 106m.
 Aris, Richard, xvii., 241, 245,
 247.
 Arundel, 3m.
 Ash, 307.
 Atkinson, Francis, 4.
 Austin, Robert, 286.
 Axtell, Rebecca, 352.
 Aylesbury, xiv., 89, 100, 191,
 193, 198, 200, 203, 206, 237m,
 238, 245, 246, 248, 284, 343,
 351.
 Ayres, William, 271, 278.

 BACHE (Bates), HUMPHREY, 74.
 Baker, Mary, 331.
 Baker, Richard, 338.
 Baldwin, Richard, 286.
 Baptists, 141, 231, 236, 237m, 258.
 Barbadoes, 227.
 Barber, Abraham, 328.
 Barbican, 260, 262.
 Barnet, 4.
 Batchelor, William, 286.
 Batt, Elizabeth, 352.
 Beaconsfield, 114, 239, 242, 335,
 358.
 Bearstall, 3m.
 Belson, Edward, 70, 340.
 Benett, Ambrose, xvi., 191, 193,
 200.
 Berrie-House, 206, 349.
 Besse, quoted, 71m, 340 *et seq.*,
 352, 353.
 Biddleaden, 338.
 Birch, Nathaniel, 194.
 Bishop, 234.
 Biss, Thomas, 200.
 Bledlow, 71.
 Bottrells, xxii., 200, 206, 349.
 Bowles, George, xxix., 321, 328,
 340.
 Bowyer, Sir William, 106, 340.
 Bray, 61m.

 Bradley, Richard, 176.
 Breda, Declaration of, xiv., 77.
 Brentford (Brainford), 241m.
 Brierlie, James, 337.
 Bridewell, xv., 128, 141, 151, 158.
 Bridgewater, Earl of, 277.
 Brill, 3m.
 Bristol, 267.
 Brothers, Andrew, 286.
 Brown, John, 336.
 Brown, Elizabeth, 351.
 Browne (Brown), Sir Richard,
 136, 138, 141, 159, 178, 339,
 341.
 Buckingham, 284; Duke of, 345.
 Bull and Mouth, meetings at,
 xv., 126, 339, 357.
 Bulstrode, 17m, 201m.
 Bunyan, John, xi., 355.
 Burdett, Peter, 345.
 Burrough, Edward, xv., 17, 18,
 19, 31, 42, 119, 173; death of,
 178; elegy by T. Ellwood,
 179; 322, 341, 346, 355.
 Butterfield, Abraham, 309 *et seq.*

 CANN, JOHN, 345.
 Canterbury, Archbishop of, 238.
 Carver, Richard, xvii.
 Catch, William, 309 *et seq.*
 Caversham (Causham), 13.
 Chalfont St. Giles, 17m, 198,
 200, 201, 239, 352, 355.
 Chalfont Grange, xxii., 13, 17,
 104, 200, 349.
 Chalfont St. Peter, xiv., 17.
 Charles I., 63m.
 Charles II., 77; coronation,
 99.
 Cherry, a constable, 64, 66.
 Chesham, 338, 351.
 Child, Timothy, 286.
 Chinnor (Chinner), incident in
 church, xiii., 15; 126.
 Cholesbury, 338.
 Clark, Benjamin, 362.
 Clark, Sir John, 80, 93, 94 *et seq.*
 Clark, constable, 118.
 Clayton, Sir Thomas, 192, 242,
 245, 342.
 Coal, B., 293.
 Colchester, 104.
 Colleshill, 221m, 310m.
 Colnbrook, 237m.
 Commonwealth, xiii., 6, 103.

Conventicle Acts, xv., xvii., xviii., 188, 232, 270, 288.
 Cokham, 61n.
 Cole, Benjamin, 306.
 Cooper, Edward, 337.
 Corporation Act, xv.
 Cornwall, 210.
 Croese, Gerard 303.
 Cromwell, Oliver, 8n, 63n.
 Crooks, John, 347.
 Crowell, 2, 4, 8, 100, 114, 117, 122, 125, 188.
 Curtis, Thomas, 17, 40, 342.
 Curtis, Anne, 40, 41, 342.

DATCHET, 13.
 Davis, F. N. (Rev.), 2n.
 Declaration of Indulgence, xviii.
 Dell, Anne, 239.
 Dell, Thomas, 192, 285, 343.
 Dell, John, 240.
 Denham, 106.
 Devonshire House, 268.
 Dewsbury, William, 356.
 Dixon, Hepworth, 259n.
 Dolbin, John, 286.
 Dorsetshire, 210.
 Dove, Dr., 126.
 Drake, Humphrey, 309.

ECCLES, SOLOMON, 38n.
 Edwards, Edward, 354.
 Ellis, John, 285.
 Ellis, Mary (afterwards Ellwood), xvi., 212, 315.

Ellwood, Walter, father of T. E., 2; friendship with Lady Springett, 3, 13; supports the Parliament, 3; appointed a magistrate, 6; visits Chalfont 13, 17; religious views, 18; Burrough's estimate, 19; opinions on Quakers, 37; displeasure at his son's conduct, 45; assaults his son, 46; his remorse and grief, 49; return of his anger, 51; violent conduct, 56; visited by Isaac and Mary Penington, 58; leaves Crowell, 100, 122; visits Isaac Penington, 113; sells his estate, 187; unjust treatment of his son, 223; scandal concerning burial of, 292 *cf.* 299.

Ellwood, Elizabeth, mother of T. E., 2, 8; death of, 13.
 Ellwood, Walter, brother of T. E., 2n, 4, 6; death of in Ireland, 13.
 Ellwood, Elizabeth and Mary, sisters of T. E., 2n, 4, 19, 20, 46, 49, 53, 55, 57, 60, 70, 7n, 79; marriage, 100, 114, 122, 138, 294.

Ellwood, Thomas, Introduction, xi.-xxiii.; birth, 2; taken to London, 2; first meets Guli Springett, 4; at Thame School, 5; waits on Lord Wenman, 8; incident at Watlington petty sessions, 8; death of mother and brother, 13; first visit to Chalfont Grange, 13; second visit, 17; at meeting at High Wycombe 21; convinced, 22; General Quarter Sessions at Oxford, 30; confesses Quaker principles, 33; revisits Chalfont Grange, 39; meeting at High Wycombe 42; spiritual exercise on his homeward journey, 43; incurs his father's displeasure, 45; assaulted by his father, 46; asks a sign of the Lord, 48; returns home, 51; his father's anger and cruelty, 51; kept prisoner at home, 53; violently assaulted by his father, 56; returns to Chalfont Grange, 59; his penniless condition, 60; incident at Maidenhead, 61; returns home, 69; begins his controversial writings, 73; goes to London, 74; arrested, 78; refuses the oath, 81; committed to prison, 84; letter from Thomas Loe, 88; and from Isaac Penington, 89; is sent home, 92; arrested at Isaac Penington's, 106; released without punishment, 110; at Chalfont again, 113; meets his father, 113; visits his sisters in London, 114; adventure at Beaconsfield, 114; seized with small pox, 119; goes to Chalfont, 120; applies himself to learning, 120; is introduced to John Milton, 121; removes to London to read with Milton, 123; his health failing he goes to Wycombe, 125; returns to London, 125; arrested at Bull and Mouth, 126; taken to Bridewell, 129; refuses the oath, 145; committed to Newgate, 146; removed to Bridewell, 151; writes *Speculum Seculi*, vi., 161; allowed liberty to visit his friends, 173; is discharged, 174; becomes tutor to Isaac Penington's children, 176; his elegy on Edward Burrough, 179; joins with his father in the sale of his estate, 188; arrested at

- Amersham, 192; committed to Aylesbury gaol, 194; released, 197; imprisoned at Wycombe, 203; his courtship, 212; defends Gull Springett from insult, 216; marriage, 220; travels into Kent and Sussex, 222; his father's unjust treatment, 223; defends Thomas Zachary, 244; prosecutes informers, 245; controversy with Hicks and Ives, 262; and with an Episcopal priest, 264; with William Rogers, 267; *Antidote against the Infection of William Rogers*, 270 *et seq.*; writes *A Caution to Constables*, 270; visits Gull Penn, 282; conduct concerning his father's burial, 292, *et seq.*; correspondence with William Sewell, 308; prosecuted for tithes, 309; last years, 315; illness and death, 316, 325, 328, 329, 330; testimonies, 327-334; house at Hunger Hill, 335; 337, 338; grave at Jordans, 335.
- Supplementary Account of his writings, etc., 287 *et seq.*; *Caution to Constables*, 288; *Discourse concerning Riots*, 288; *A Seasonable Dissuasive from Persecution*, 289; *Collaudemus Dominum*, 290; *Rogero-Mastix*, 291; *Epistles to Friends*, 291, 298; *Life of David*, 291, 313; *An Account from Wiccomb*, 292; *Reply to an Answer*, etc., 292; *Answer to Leonard Key*, 292; *Deceit Discovered and Malice Manifested*, 293; *A Fair Examination of a Foul Paper*, 294; edits G. Fox's *Journal*, 297; *A Further Discovery*, etc., 299; *Truth Defended*, 299; *A Sober Reply to Two Petitions*, 305; *Salan Disrob'd*, 306; *Reply to John Shocking*, Priest of Ash, 307; *History of the Old Testament*, 307; *Glorious Brightness of the Gospel Day*, 309; *History of the New Testament*, 312; edits Oliver Sansom's *Life*, 312; *Bibliography*, 361-366.
- Endicott, Governor, 342.
- Evelyn, xi.
- FALKLAND (Faulkland), HENRY CARY, VISCOUNT, 77.
- Faringdon, 345.
- Fell, Margaret, 343, 354.
- Ferguson, Robert, 260n.
- Field, John, 339.
- Fifth Monarchy Men, xiv., 77, 82, 105, 107.
- Five Mile Act,
- Fleetwood family, 198n.
- Forster, a lawyer, 245.
- Fotherly, Thomas, J.P., 271, 273, 278.
- Fox, George, iii., 38n, 206, 209, 268; death of, 297; visits to Bucks, 336; 341, 342, 343, 346, 347, 351, 352, 356, 357, 362.
- Fox, George, the younger, 74, 344.
- Franklin, Robert, 237n.
- GALLOWAY, City Marshall of Oxford, 87.
- Gibs, 157.
- Gibbs, 70n, 100n.
- Gigger, John, 216, 218, 219.
- Goodyare (Goodair), Thomas, 90, 344.
- Grassingham, Robert, 344.
- Gray, Walter, 2.
- Grays, 80.
- Greenaway, Richard, 101, 102, 103, 345.
- Greenwell, Anne, 345.
- Grime, Mother, 117, 118.
- Grimsdal, William, 328.
- Grove, the, xxii., 17.
- Grove, John, 227.
- HACKER, COLONEL, 347.
- Haddenham, 70.
- Hadley, 4.
- Hall, Timothy, 71n.
- Hampden, John, xii., 5n.
- Hampson (Hamson), Sir Dennis, 284, 288, 344.
- Harding, 241.
- Harwich, 344.
- Harris, Charles, 292.
- "Hat-honour," xii., 322.
- Headach, 237.
- Hedgerley, xxi., 201, 337, 355.
- Henley, 60.
- Hersent (Biss), Anne, 200.
- Hertford, 191.
- Hicks, Thomas, 258, 261.
- Hinde, Luke, 362.
- Hitchcock, 248.
- Holton, 293.
- Hookes, Ellis, 354.
- Howel, Sir John, 145.
- Howgill, Francis, 346.
- Howkins, Thomas, 362.
- Hubbard, Miles, 344.
- Hubberthorn, Richard, 344.
- Hughenden (Hitchendon), 239.
- Hungerhill (Ongar Hill), 206n, 221n, 315, 327, 335, 337, 351.
- Hutchinson, Lucy, xi.

- ILMER, 71^m, 338.
 Informers, 235, 239, 246, 353.
 Ives, Jeremy, 231, 261.
 • JAMES, RICHARD, 286.
 Jennings, John, 286.
 Jennings, S., 297.
 Jordans (Jourdan's), 239, 335, 337, 343, 352, 355.
 KEITH, GEORGE, 260^m, 297 *et seq.*, 304, 305.
 Key, Leonard, 292, 294.
 Knowls, Esquire, 80 *et seq.*
 LACY, RALPH, xvii., 239, 241, 245, 247.
 Lambarn, Sarah, 195.
 Lambeth, Palace, 71^m.
 Larcum, Mary, 331.
 Laud, Archbishop, 352.
 Leaper, Joshua, 309 *et seq.*
 Leslie, Charles, 357.
 Loc (Low), Thomas, 75, 76, 78, 82, 87, 91, 345.
 Long Crendon, 338.
 Love, John, 307.
 Luff, John, 207.
 MAIDENHEAD, 61, 63^m, 68, 343.
 Man, Edward, 345.
 Mason, William, 285.
 Masson, David, xix., 198^m.
 Mead, William, xvii.
 Meadle, 71, 98, 338.
 Merrick, Anne, 132.
 Mews (Mew), Dr., 236.
 Milton, John, 121, 123, 125, 174, 198; *Paradise Lost*, 199.
 Monks Risborough, 71^m, 230.
 Moor, Edward, 285.
 Moor, Robert, 286.
 Morten, Sir Edward, 237^m.
 Morton, Sir William, 196, 236, 346.
 Mountier (Montier) cap, 31, 32^m.
 Mucklow, William, 136.
 NAVLER (NAILOR), JAMES, 17, 19, 346.
 Newgate, 128, 140; inquest in, 148, 151; description of, 154-173.
 Norton, Silas, 87.
 OLD BAILEY, 128, 148, 151, 174.
 Olliffe, Thomas, 323, 337.
 Ovy, John, xii., 101, 102, 104, 105, 111.
 Ovy, Thomas, 101^m.
 Oxford, surrender of, 3, 4; General Quarter Sessions at, 30; 42, 45; meeting at, 78, 86; castle, xiv.; 344, 345.
 PAGET, DR. 121, 123.
 Parker, Alexander, 210, 347, 354.
 Parker, George, 210.
 Parker, Judith, 201, 202.
 Parnel, Thomas, 347.
 Parrot, *see* Perrot.
 Penington, Alderman, 4, 17^m, 59, 348.
 Penington, Isaac, xvi., xix., 3, 13, 17, 36, 40, 41, 58, 65, 89, 100, 102, 104, 106, 113, 114, 119, 121, 122, 175, 191, 195, 200, 206, 213, 222, 227, 232, 330, 336, 338, 348.
 Penington, John, 175, 309.
 Penington, Mary (Proude, Mary; Springett, Lady) 3, 13, 17, 40, 59, 69, 111, 113, 138, 175, 200, 213, 222, 227, 336, 348, 358.
 Penington, Mary (wife of D. Wharley), 175, 331, 355.
 Penington, William, 104, 106, 137, 174, 181.
 Penn, Guillelma, 272, 282 (*see also* Springett, Guillelma).
 Penn, William, xvii.; dispute with Jeremy Ives, 231, 259, 260^m, 272^m, 292, 297, 305, 336, 345, 349, 355.
 Pennsylvania, 297, 305.
 Penney, Norman, vi.
 Perrot (Perot, Parret), Edward, 191, 201, 343, 351.
 Perrot, John, 206, 210.
 Pepys, Samuel, xi., 38^m.
 Pepys, a scrivener, 114.
 Pewsey, Stephen, 285.
 Phillips, 157.
 Phillips, Parson, 239.
 Phillips, James, 362.
 Plant, Thomas, 260^m, 262.
 Portland, Duke of, 17^m.
 Potman, Elizabeth (afterwards Ellwood), 2.
 Poulter, John, xvii., 238, 240, 241.
 Press Yard, 151.
 Prisons, 78, 84, 89, 129, 146, 151, 194, 203, 237^m, 238, 245, 284.
 Proude, Sir John, 3^m, 348.
 Proude, Mary, *see* Penington.
 Pyot, Edward, 336.
 QUAKERS, persecution of, xii. *et seq.*, 289; speaking in church, 15; views expounded, 18; disputes with Baptists, 231; Separatists, 266, 290, 292 *et seq.*; prosecuted for tithes, 309.
 Quaker meetings, 17, 39, 42, 49, 68, 70, 71, 74, 98, 101, 103, 126, 201, 209, 210, 239, 240, 268, 269, 284, 288, 293, 297, 298, 299, 302, 303, 304, 307, 314, 315, 316, 327, 329, 335, 336, *et seq.*

- RAUNCE (Rance), Frances, 49, 125, 351.
 Raunce (Rance), John, 21, 42, 49, *et seq.*, 125, 292, *et seq.*, 350.
 Raylton, Thomas, 362.
 Reading, 60, 62, 66, 343.
 Reeve, John, 285.
 Richardson, Elizabeth, 332.
 Rickmansworth, 271, 273, 276, 350.
 Ringmer, 3^m.
 Risborough, 239.
 Roberts, Daniel, 328, 351.
 Roberts, John, 352.
 Rogers, William, 267, 270, 290.
 Rolis, Priest, 352.
 Rosewell, Major, 126, 128.
 Rowntree, John S., v.
 Rule, Joseph, 336.
 Russell, William, 239, 343, 352.
 Rye House Plot, xviii., 277.
 Ryland, Thomas, 87.
 SALISBURY, 238
 Salter, George, xxi., 201, 286, 353.
 Sansom, Oliver, 312, 353.
 Sansom, Oliver, 312.
 Saunders, Damaris, 72.
 Saunders, Thomas, 71.
 Sevenoaks, 215.
 Sewel, William, 260^m, 308.
 Sexton, Thomas, 286.
 Sexton, William, 286.
 Shattock, Samuel, 342.
 Sheldon, Archbishop, 71^m.
 Shocking, John, 307.
 Skipton, 38^m.
 Smith, John, 286.
 Smith, James, 328.
 Somersetshire, 210.
 Sowle, Andrew, 361.
 Sowle, Jane, 353, 361.
 Sowle, Tace (Tacy), 361.
 Springett, Gulielma Maria (*see* also Penn), xix., 3^m, 4, 13, 40, 119, 179, 181, 200, 201, 210, 215, 220, 222, 348.
 Springett, Sir Herbert, 215, 220.
 Springett, Lady, *see* Penington, Mary.
 Springett, Sir William, 3, 3^m, 348.
 Stanhope, George, 348.
 Starkey, a lawyer, 245.
 Steevens, Jeremiah, 42.
 Stoken church, 103.
 Story, John, 266.
 Story, Thomas, 227^m, 357.
 Stoughton, Dr., xvii.
 Sumner, W. H., (Rev.), vi., xi., xxiii., 351, 352.
 Sunday observance, 61, 141.
 Sympson, William, 38^m.
 TANNER, WILLIAM, 286.
 Taplow, 284.
 Thame, 3^m, 76; school, 5, 3^m, 32; park, 8.
 Thornton, Samuel, 22, 353.
 Titchborn, Sir Benjamin, 271, 276, 278.
 Tonbridge (Tunbridge), 219, 220.
 Tongue, 157.
 Topsham, 210.
 Tournay, William, 289.
 Travers, Anne, 132, 137, 354.
 Tunridge Wells, 216, 220.
 Turner, Sir William, 150.
 Turville Heath, 337.
 UNIFORMITY, ACT OF, xv., 342, 355.
 VACHE, THE, 198^m, 342.
 Vallentine, Thomas, 352.
 Venner's Plot, xiv., 77, 82, 105, 107.
 Vivers, Anne, 132.
 Vivers, Richard, 334.
 WAGER, PRUDENCE, 347.
 Wallcott, Humphrey, 356.
 Watford, 271, 273.
 Watkins, Morgan, 191, 201, 204, 206, 354.
 Watlington, petty sessions at, 8, 101.
 Webb, Maria, 349.
 Wells, Henry, 194, 245.
 Wells, John, 273.
 Wenman, Thomas, Lord, 8, 80.
 Westminster Hall, 38^m.
 Westhall, 237^m.
 Weston, 80, 85, 96, 336, 338.
 Wharley, Daniel, 17^m, 175, 328, 351.
 Wharley, Mary, 331, 351.
 Whately, a barber, 79.
 Wheatley (Whately), 94.
 Wheeler Street, 61, 262.
 Whipping, Method of, 142.
 White, John, 71.
 White's Farm, 239.
 Whitehead, George, 105, 106, 250, 260^m, 291, 342, 347, 355.
 Whitehead, John, 100, 356.
 Whittier, J. G., 342.
 Whitting, J., 345, 347, 358.
 Wilkinson, John, 266, 343.
 William III., landing of, 291, 313.
 Wilson, Robert, 362.
 Woodburn, 284, 288, 344.
 Woodhouse, William, 285.
 Worminghurst, 282.
 Wray, Mr., 138.
 Wycombe (Wickham, Wilcomb), xvi., 21, 41, 42, 47, 49, 69, 113, 114, 125, 203, 231, 241, 244, 337, 350.
 Wyeth, Joseph, iii., v., xxvii.-xxx., 224^m, his supplement, 287-317, 357.
 YORK, DUKE OF, 216, 219.
 ZACHARY, THOMAS, iv., xix., 242, 245, 247, 248, 357.



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